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Studies in the literary career of the fallen angels: The Devil and his body in Old English literature

Johnson, David Frame, Ph.D.

Cornell University, 1993

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STUDIES IN THE LITERARY CAREER OF THE FALLEN ANGELS: THE DEVIL AND HIS BODY IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

David Frame Johnson

May 1993

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

David F. Johnson attended the Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, the Netherlands, where he earned a *Kandidaats* (B.A.) in English Language and Literature in 1982. He took the *Doctoraal* (M.A., *cum laude*, "oude stijl") in 1986. During his studies he taught English as a Second Language for four years at two Dutch High Schools. He attended Cornell University from 1987 to 1993, receiving an MA in 1991. He won the Clark Award for Distinguished Teaching in the Spring of 1991.

In addition to a number of notes and articles on Old and Middle English literature, he is co-editor and translator of *P.J. Cosijn: Notes on Beowulf.* Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 12, 1991. He has also published an edition, translation and commentary of a Middle Dutch Arthurian romance, under the title *Penninc and Pieter Vostaert: The Roman van Walewein.* Garland Library of Medieval Literature (New York: Garland), 1992.

He is married to Corine Samwel and together they have two wonderful sons, Ian and Nathan. In the Fall semester of 1993 he will start teaching Medieval literature as an Assistant Professor at The Florida State University in Tallahassee. The family is looking forward to the change in climate.

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To my wife and children:

Corine S. Samwel

Ian David Johnson

Nathan Alan Johnson

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS.	Acta Sanctorum
AS	Anglo-Saxon
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASPR	*Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*
BaP	Bibliothek der ags. Prosa
BCS	Birch Cartularium Saxonorum
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: series Latina (Turnhout)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
DOE	*The Dictionary of Old English*
DV	*Douay Version*
EETS, es	Early English Text Society, extra series
EETS, os	Early English Text Society, original series
EH	*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OE	Old English
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
Vulg.	Vulgate

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Introduction

The Devil and his demons had a prominent place in the literary culture of the Anglo-Saxons; as spiritual beings they were perceived as having definite and definable powers which they exercised all too frequently in the daily lives of those who believed in them. As literary subjects, the Devil and demons were popular topics throughout the Middle Ages, and especially so in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons. They seem to have had a special appeal to the imagination and creative energies of poets and homilists, and with good reason: while a person might live out his life without ever witnessing or being the object of angelic mediation or intervention, not a day went by in the life of the religious Anglo-Saxon when he or she did not experience or see the effects of Satan and his subordinates' agency in this world.

One of the premises on which the chapters of this dissertation operate is that the Devil and demons, as literary characters, fulfill significantly active roles both as mediators of information about the spiritual world and as players in the drama of the texts in which they feature. From a narrative perspective, devils (together with the angels and the saints) afforded writers in the Middle Ages characters who allowed for a relatively wide scope of imaginative freedom. After all, the scriptural Canon had been fixed, and as a result the events in which either God the Father or God the Son played a role were fixed as well. In fact, in Old English literature, God the Father acts but rarely speaks, and allotting to God speeches or actions not already recorded in scripture must surely have seemed a charged and problematic endeavor to many during this period.

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Likewise in the same literature even Christ is less significant as a "character" than one might expect (though His appearance in *Christ III* constitutes an exception to this). Christ's great speech in *Piers Plowman* Passus XVIII has no parallel in Old English literature, nor do we encounter there anything like His passionate laments in Middle English lyric. More characteristic for the Anglo-Saxon literary tradition is the heroic but silent Christ of *The Dream of the Rood*. In their literature as a whole, we may legitimately speak of an opposition between the immobile and silent God of the Anglo-Saxons on the one hand, and the ever active Satan and his minions on the other. Thus devils feature prominently in the process of the transmission, translation, adaptation and invention of religious narrative that characterizes the developing Christian "mythology" in Anglo-Saxon literature.

While scholars have written on various aspects of diabology and demonology in general, relatively little has been written on the demonology of the Anglo-Saxons. What has appeared generally falls either into the category of surveys on a grand scale (e.g. Jeffrey Burton Russell's cursory treatment of the topic in Anglo-Saxon literature in *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*), or notes and comments on lines from individual Anglo-Saxon texts. The latter are of course scattered among the various editions and studies of these works, rendering the task of synthesizing and evaluating traditional demonological lore in Old English a difficult one. Moreover, the few studies that have dealt in whole or part with demonology of the Anglo-Saxon period have had an historical or theological focus. My thesis addresses this topic from a literary perspective.

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There neither exists nor has there ever existed a "Life of Lucifer." Nothing comparable to the lives of the saints, the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve*, or the later legends of Jesus and Mary seems to have been conceived of, much less written during the centuries of the early Christian period and the European Middle Ages. That the life and career of Lucifer/Satan did not attract a "biographer" comes as no surprise, for one of the intentions of Christian hagiographers and composers of legends was that their stories should serve as celebrations of an exemplary life. Satan's example was important within the framework of the Christian worldview, but it was certainly not to be emulated, and we might speculate that had anyone ever thought of writing such a history, he or she would most likely have dismissed it immediately as both undesirable and dangerous.

Nevertheless, Satan is an important figure in the universe and mythology of the medieval Church. In such a rigorously monotheistic system (at least in theory) he was the *de facto* counterpart to the principal good in an essentially dualistic scheme of things. Lucifer, once the most beautiful and splendid of God's heavenly host, became the embodiment of evil, the author of sin, the opposite in every way to his chief opponent in the drama of salvation history, Christ. In Anglo-Saxon religious literature, Satan's kingdom in hell and the corporate body over which he holds sway is a perverted inversion of the community of saints and angels who dwell in heaven with Christ, and the men and women who aspire to take their place among the ranks of the blessed. Satan is God's adversary and man's nemesis. Without him, there would be no sainthood, for, according to the Fathers it is his lot to tempt and test God's chosen.

Despite Satan's obvious importance in the drama of Christian salvation history, he receives relatively little attention in any kind of direct

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way in the canonical scriptures of the Christian tradition. There are no doubt many reasons for this, some of which may have to do with changing attitudes toward and conceptions of the nature of evil in the communities in which the various books of the Old and New Testaments evolved. It remains a fact that most of the most basic and salient moments in the Devil's career as it was later to be defined, however implicitly, are not so much as mentioned in the canon, but this silence was often more than compensated for in the extra-canonical pseudepigrapha and apocryphal testaments. One need only mention the lack of explicit treatment of the creation and fall of Lucifer, or of his defeat and binding by Christ at the Harrowing of Hell.

We are not concerned here with the reasons behind these gaps in the canonical "coverage" of the Devil, but rather with their effects. The fact of the matter is that the Christianized Anglo-Saxons inherited enough lore, from various sources, that would have allowed them to write the "Life of Lucifer" mentioned above if any of them had wished. They shared with their fellow Christians the desire to fill out the gaps left by scripture, and, in addition to embracing the apocryphal narratives available to them, one might say that they made their own contributions to the "apocryphal" tradition in the reworkings of Christian myth and legend that make up the corpus of Old English religious poetry and prose.

I would speculate that even though the Anglo-Saxons never composed a life or legend of Lucifer in one continuous written narrative, that such an account did exist in the minds of all those who were familiar with Christian myth and lore in general. The point here is that such a "life" could be pieced together from all the apocryphal narratives, exempla, prayers, visions, commentaries and miscellaneous texts (and visual

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representations) available to the Anglo-Saxons. While no two of them would have told the story in exactly the same way, there would still have been agreement on a number of the most important events in the career of the Devil: his creation and fall; his temptation of man and later of Christ; his defeat and binding at the Harrowing of Hell; his constant evil agency as the "Prince of this world"; and his role in the advent of the Antichrist and the drama of the Final Judgment. His fellow fallen angels had a role to play as well, for whether or not there was universal agreement as to where they dwelt or the exact nature of their existence, they fulfilled a multitude of nefarious functions in their constant strife against man, and the angels, for the ultimate fate of men's souls.

The questions that lie at the heart of this study are straightforward ones: what did the Anglo-Saxons "know" about the Devil and his demons, and how did those whose task it was to represent them in the literature of the period (from roughly the eighth century to the twelfth) go about doing so? Related questions are many, though not all will be addressed in this study. For instance, one might spend a great deal of energy and time tracing the sources of the demonological lore inherited by the Anglo-Saxons, much of which undoubtedly extends far back in time and place through the traditions of the Judeo-Christians to Greek and Egyptian influences. A number of studies have attempted to trace the development of the idea of evil as embodied in the figure of the Devil and his demons, but this study does not concern itself ultimately with sources alone.[1] My main

---

[1] Jung (*Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature. A Study in Comparative Folk-Lore*. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1924); Langton (*Essentials of Demonology*. Reprint. 1949. New York: AMS, 1981); Montano (*The Sin of the Angels: Some Aspects of the Teaching of St. Thomas*. Vol. 89. Catholic University Studies in Sacred Theology Second Series, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1955); Bamberger (*Fallen Angels*. New York: The Jewish Publication Society of America,

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focus throughout this work is a literary one, a feature that sets it apart from many. I am concerned chiefly with how the Anglo-Saxons adopted and adapted the demonological lore that was available to them in texts that dealt to one extent or another with the figures of the Devil and his demons as literary characters. I take the terms "literary" and "literature" in their broadest possible sense to include prose and poetic narrative, but also prayers, charms, and even land grants and charters.

Considering, for example, the motif of the fall of Lucifer, the philosopher or theologian might ask (as indeed the scholastics did), "How is it possible that a being created wholly good could sin and fall?" My version of that same question would be rather "How did writers of the period represent that event?" It is clear that an exhaustive analysis of every demonological motif in Anglo-Saxon literature, together with a discussion of the more significant demonological themes, would amount to a literary history of the Devil in the first millenium of Christian Europe. The scope of this dissertation is more limited. I intend simply to explore some of the ways in which Anglo-Saxon writers (and artists) made use of the demonological lore they had inherited. Thus the variety of the forms of demonological motifs and their possible applications are two of this study's central concerns.

As will be apparent from the foregoing, the basic structural unit of study here is the motif. We might adopt a definition of "motif" as a basic narrative or thematic element that recurs in more than one text. Motifs are

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1952), Russell (*Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984) and Roskoff (*Geschichte des Teufels*. 1869. Reprint. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1967) are examples of such studies. I am preparing an "Analytical Inventory" of demonological motifs, which is intended to deal in detail with the sources and dissemination of demonological lore in the Anglo-Saxon period. The studies that follow derive in whole or part from this work in progress.

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thus in one sense the building blocks of certain kinds of narrative. They are discrete and identifiable units of "meaning" that could be manipulated, recombined and adapted to suit the aims and uses of the individual author. They are recognizable and hence traceable, and thus often provide clues as to the relationships between disparate texts dealing with similar themes. Within the context of the present discussion, this can be of importance for inferring information about the social and intellectual context of the texts in which they are found.

The studies that follow are arranged according to a chronological scheme delineated by Gregory the Great in his *Moralia in Iob*. In the course of his exposition of the Book of Job, Gregory distinguishes three periods in the "mundane existence" of the Devil. Abbetmeyer defines them as follows:

> Gregory distinguishes three periods of Satan's dominion. Before Christ he had a rightful claim upon all men, they all followed him freely, being bound in sin and guilt (*Mor.* II. c. 22). God from just cause gave this dominion to the wicked one. (*Mor.* II. c. 10).
>
> The second period begins with Christ. Through Him the devil loses his right in man and his power over him (*Mor.* I. c. 24, 26; III c. 15, 16). God curbs his power (*Mor.* XXXII. c. 15). He can no longer rule over saints as his possession, but can only persecute them outwardly (*Mor.* XVII. c. 32). But he still holds the hearts of unbelievers. To this extent he is bound.
>
> In the third period, at the end of the world, he will be loosed again and return as Antichrist to attack men with all his fury (Mor. IV. c.9). Antichrist is a man of the tribe of Dan (*Mor.* XXXI. c. 24), in whom the devil fully dwells. He is thus the counterpart of the incarnate Logos. He is therefore "reprobus, perditus, damnatus homo, quem in fine mundi apostata angelus assumet" (*Mor.* XIII. c.

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> 10). He is the greatest of sinners, the personification of sin, the vessel of perdition (*Mor.* XIV. c. 21).[2]

As could be demonstrated, most narrative accounts in Old English that deal in any kind of expansive way with the Devil's actions seem to take the restrictions inherent in these divisions into account. Thus, as I point out in Chapter Five, saints' lives or exempla relating encounters between Christians and demonic characters usually recognize the tradition (at the literal level) that Satan lies bound in hell. Obviously, the bulk of Christian history (e.g. all Christian hagiography) is situated in the second Gregorian period, and consequently it is not the Devil but a lesser demon who appears to the saint. In those instances in which this arrangement is not recognized (in Old English literature, at least), one should be willing to seek a reason for this, and not be too quick to dismiss the poet's seeming inconsistency.[3] I have found, then, Gregory's divisions to be a convenient way of organizing the studies in this dissertation, and indeed I feel that they will be equally useful as an organizational principle for the fuller account of Satan's career that will ultimately grow out of this dissertation. The five chapters that make up the body of this study deal with motifs and themes that are situated in the first and second Gregorian periods only; the subject matter of the third period–the Antichrist and Final Judgment–remains outside of the scope of the dissertation.

Chapter One, "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters: Christian Mythology and Political Mythmaking," deals with an event in Christian mythology for which there is little

---

2 *Old English Poetical Motives*, p. 28.

3 A good example of this in Old English poetry is found in the OE *Elene*. I discuss this in Chapter Four below.

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scriptural testimony. Here I examine the myth of the Fall of Lucifer and the Rebel Angels as it appears in the *exordium* of *Genesis A* and two Anglo-Latin charters of the late tenth century. The form the myth takes in these texts is unusual; it is unparalleled in Medieval Latin texts, and in the English tradition occurs only much later, in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In addition to establishing the motif's distinctive form, I discuss its manifestation in one of the Anglo-Saxon royal charters in which it appears, "King Edgar's Privilege for New Minster," as an instance of Christian myth applied to a political context. Moreover, I argue, the fact that both charters can be dated and placed with certainty raises the very real possibility that they may be submitted as evidence in the still unresolved debate on the date and provenance of the codex in which *Genesis A* is preserved, Junius 11.

In Chapter Two, "The Devil Wanders the Paths of Exile, the Devil Bound: Satan's Ambiguous Mobility in *Christ and Satan*," I seek to account for a conflicting set of images used by the poet of *Christ and Satan* in describing Satan's freedom of movement following his expulsion from heaven. The poet employs two evocative and dramatic images here: on the one hand Satan and his fellow rebels are exiles from heaven, and as such they wander the paths of the exile in hell and on earth. But at the same time, our poet makes frequent and contradictory use of the imagery of fettering and bondage: now Satan is bound fast in chains, utterly immobile within the prison that is hell, now he is free to roam, and even fly out of hell or stretch forth his hands to pull down the souls of the damned. The contradictions on the literal level have led critics either to fault the poet for clumsiness or incompetence, or posit a cut-and-paste compilation made up of bits and pieces from disparate poems. This chapter assumes instead the

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unity of the work, and argues that a different narrative logic should be applied to the poem. It explores the possibility that the poet's thinking (and composition) may well have been influenced by the so-called "Rules of Tyconius." Two of these rules find resonance in Augustine's doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, and I argue that a figurative use of its corollary image, the mystical body of Satan–the *corpus diaboli*–underlies the poet's choice of imagery in *Christ and Satan.*

Chapter Three, "Euhemerization vs Demonization of the Pagan gods and Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*," addresses an aspect of demonic agency that was of particular importance to Anglo-Saxon Christian writers, both as a *topos* to be used in *exempla* and saints' lives, and as a weapon in the struggle against paganism. In this chapter I examine the range of attitudes towards the pagan gods as reflected in a number of texts by medieval Germanic authors and their influences. I argue that Ælfric's treatment of the Germanic gods in his homily *De Falsis Diis* is not as thoroughly demonizing as it might at first appear. Certain silences in Ælfric's text point to an awareness of the politically sensitive nature of the topic for his audience, and they help explain the motivations behind some of the changes Ælfric made in adapting his main source text.

Chapter Four, "Liturgical Devil and Hagiographical Demon: Demonic Agency in Cynewulf's *Elene* and *Guthlac A*," is comprised of two distinct yet related studies. Both are concerned with aspects of the combat between demons and Christian saints. In the first, "The Devil and Judas in Cynewulf's *Elene*," the concept of the "hagiographical demon" is defined. I observe that it is, almost without exception, the subordinate demon–not Satan himself–who appears to the Christian saints, whose stories fall as a matter of course within the second Gregorian period. With this distinction

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in mind, it becomes clear that the appearance of Satan himself in Cynewulf's *Elene* is an anomaly. I argue here that Cynewulf recognized allusions to baptismal imagery in his source and that he has strengthened these considerably in order to emphasize the figural dimensions of the *Inventio Crucis* legend. The devil who appears here is in fact the "liturgical Devil," and with his appearance historical time gives way to liturgical time.

The second part of this chapter, "*Guthlac A* and the Land of Canaan," is concerned with a major theme in early Christian and medieval hagiography: the spiritual warfare waged by the saints against their adversaries, the demons. In the Old English poem *Guthlac A*, this conflict is specifically defined in terms of territorial gain. Here Guthlac struggles against the demons for possession of a piece of territory, a thematic concern which is much more prominent in *Guthlac A* than in any other text in the quite extensive corpus of Guthlac materials, including Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, *Guthlac B*, and the Old English prose life of St Guthlac. I argue that the poet thought of Guthlac's struggle in terms of the widespread patristic and medieval allegorical exegesis of a portion of the Exodus narrative (especially 23:30), whereby the Canaanites and other nations were seen as the powers of evil and sin, from whom the Israelites had to wrest possession of the Holy Land. Striking parallels between the Biblical account and the Old English poem render this instance of the combat between demon and saint an original variation on a traditional theme.

Chapter Five, "Guardian Angel, Attendant Demon: Devils and Angels in Conflict in Anglo-Saxon Art and Literature," explores further literary representations of the perpetual struggle between God's ministering angels and the Devil's cohorts. Motifs involving combat between angels and demons are especially prevalent in Anglo-Saxon saints'

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lives, whether composed in Latin or the vernacular. Yet these themes go beyond the boundaries of hagiography to make their appearance in other narrative genres, such as homily and *visio*, and the visual arts. The point of departure for this discussion of a range of motifs–including the guardian angels, post-mortem individual judgment, and the importance of intercessory prayer–is an analysis of the famous line drawings on fols. 6v and 7r of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (BL MS Stowe 944). I trace the series of literary motifs which the anonymous Anglo-Saxon artist has adopted, combined and transformed into a vivid and original composition. Central to the overall theme and function of this illustration is the combat between angels and demons for possession of a departed soul.

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Chapter One

The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters: Christian Mythology and Political Mythmaking.

"The origin of the angels," notes Edward J. Montano, "is also the origin of those who would eventually be demons."[1] Of all the motifs involving angels and devils in the Judeo-Christian literary tradition, those that recount the creation of the angels and the subsequent rebellion and fall of Lucifer are of paramount importance. These events occupy a central position in the Christian mythology of creation; they are inextricably connected with the fall of man and the origin of sin; and (most important for this study) they mark the point in time at which the Devil and demons came into being. They are also a primary example of the kind of subject for which no canonical or otherwise authoritative narrative account existed. Although the Apocryphal books of Enoch contained much information about the creation of the angels and the reasons for the rebels' fall,[2] no single text could be regarded by the Church Fathers–or Christian poets–as authoritative. Moreover, the tendency that led to the composition of such works as the *Vita Adae et Evae* and other apocryphal texts--namely the desire to fill in the gaps left by scripture--was given further impulse by

---

[1] Montano, *The Sin of the Angels*, p. 14.

[2] For a summary of the evidence for knowledge of the apocryphal I Enoch among the Anglo-Saxons, see Thomas N. Hall's entry on the "Apocrypha" in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill and Paul E. Szarmach (Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies: Binghamton), 1990: 25-27.

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the very real doctrinal need to account for the existence of evil in the world. In the course of their exegesis the Church Fathers, and the medieval commentators who came after them, put forth various interpretations of Lucifer's rebellion and the subsequent advent of evil and sin. These interpretations were, however, largely restricted to exegesis of individual passages (e.g. Augustine's interpretation of Genesis 1:4 ["et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona et divisit lucem ac tenebras"] as the moment at which angels and devils were created and the latter fell) and hence hardly constituted anything approaching a full narrative account.

The Fall of the Rebel Angels appears with relative frequency in Anglo-Saxon religious verse, and it is fair to say that the motif received its most expansive and creative treatment in such poems as *Christ and Satan* and *Genesis A* and *B*. Indeed, one of the most interesting accounts of the beginning of Satan's career in Anglo-Saxon poetry is to be found in the opening text of the Anglo-Saxon poetic codex MS Junius 11, *Genesis A*.

In composing his poem, the *Genesis A* poet aimed for what A.N. Doane terms "a paraphrase, or analogical imitation of the text"; the text Doane refers to here is of course the O.T. book of Genesis.[3] Doane's apparatus–he prints verses from the Vulgate and Old Latin Bible rendered by the poet on opposite pages to the Old English text–clearly demonstrates the poet's reliance on some form of the Latin Bible in composing his poem. But while the poet's paraphrase expands on the original in places–such expansions include variation, elaboration of detail and even commentary on the original Latin text–his treatment of the material is essentially linear,

---

[3] A. N. Doane, *Genesis A: A New Edition* (Madison: Wisconsin Univ. Press, 1978), p. 49.

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and he follows his original relatively closely.[4] This is not the case, however, for the opening section of the poem, for the contents of this *exordium* of a hundred or so lines have no parallel in the Bible, and it is precisely here that we find the poet's account of the Fall of the Rebel Angels.

In order to assess the relationship of this version of the motif in question to others in the tradition, to evaluate in other words the features in the *Genesis A* poet's view of the creation and fall of the rebel angels that set it apart from other treatments of the same material, it will be necessary to review its contents in some detail. To this end I offer here a very brief synopsis of the *exordium*, followed by the full text of lines 1-111.

In the opening lines of the poem (vv. 1-20a) the poet first depicts the angels dwelling in peace, joy and happiness while they praise their lord, God. Next he recounts the rebellion and strife caused by a portion of the host (vv. 20b-34a); God's subsequent anger and creation of Hell (vv. 34b-46b); and His crushing and expulsion of the rebels (vv. 47-77b). Peace returns to the Kingdom of the Heavens, but the thrones of those who had rebelled are left empty (vv. 78-91b). God decides to resettle them with "a better host" (selran werode, v. 95b) and thus the Created World (earth, sky and waters), and in it man, is established to compensate for those who had fallen (woruldgesceafte on wraðra gield, "a created world in compensation for the adversaries," v. 101).

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[4] For more on the additions, see Doane, pp. 68-70. For a discussion of the Latin sources of *Genesis A*, see Paul Remley, "The Latin Textual Basis of *Genesis A*." *ASE* 17 (1988): 163-89.

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Us is riht micel Dæt we rodera weard,[5]
wereda wuldorcining, wordum herigen,
modum lufien. he is mægna sped,
heafod ealra heahgesceafta,
frea ælmihtig. næs him fruma æfre,
or geworden, ne nu ende cymþ
ecean drihtnes, ac he bið a rice
ofer heofenstolas heagum þrymmum.
soðfæst and swiðfe*or*m sweglbosmas heold
þa wæron gesette wide and side
þurh geweald godes wuldres bearnum,
gasta weardum. hæfdon gleam and dream
and heora ordfruman engla þreatas,
beor*h*te blisse. wæs heora blæd micel.
þegnas þrymfæste þeoden heredon,
sægdon lustum lof, heora liffrean
demdon: drihtenes dugeþum wæron
swiðe gesælige. synna ne cuþon,
firena fremman, ac hie on friðe lifdon
ece mid heora aldor.[6] elles ne ongunnon
ræran on roderum nymþe riht and soþ
ær ðon engla wearð for oferhygde
dæl on gedwilde. noldan dreogan leng
heora selfra ræd, ac hie of siblufan
godes ahwurfon. hæfdon gielp micel
þæt hie wið drihtne dælan meahton

[5] Text from Doane's edition of *Genesis A*, the following translation is my own. "For us it is a great duty that we praise with words and love in our hearts the guardian of the heavens, the glory-king of hosts. He is strength of powers, head of all high-creation (of all the angels), almighty Lord" (1-5a).

[6] "Never was there to him an origin, a beginning, nor will there come an end to the eternal Lord, but he will be ever mighty above the thrones of heaven, the high powers (hosts; Powers?). Steadfast in truth and self-sufficient he held the heaven-of-heavens that were established in width and breadth by the power of God for the children of glory, the guardians of souls. They possessed joy and happiness in their Creator, too, [did] the hosts of angels, splendid happiness, their joy was great. Mighty thegns, they worshipped their Lord, gave praise willingly, their Lord-of-life they glorified: with the gifts of the Lord they were exceedingly joyous. They knew nothing of sins, of the commission of crimes, but they lived eternally in peace with their Prince" (5b-20a).

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wuldorfæstan wic werodes þrymme,
sid and swegltorht. him þær sar gelamp,
æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod
þe þone unræd ongan ærest fremman,
wefan and weccean. þa he worde cwæð,
niþes ofþyrsted, þæt he on norðdæle
ham and heahsetl heofena rices
agan wolde.[7] þa wearð yrre god
and þam werode wrað þe he ær wurðode
wlite and wuldre. sceop þam werlogan
wræclicne ham weorce to leane,
helleheafas, hearde niðas.
heht þæt witehus wræcna bidan,
deop, dreama leas, drihten ure,
gasta weardas, þa he hit geare wiste,
synnihte beseald, susle geinnod,
geondfolen fyre and færcyle,
rece and reade lege. heht þa geond þæt rædlease hof
weaxan witebrogan.[8] hæfdon hie wrohtgeteme
grimme wið god gesomnod. him þæs grim lean becom.
cwædon þæt heo rice, reðemode,
agan woldan, and swa eaðe meahtan.
him seo wen geleah, siððan waldend his,
heofona heahcining, honda arærde

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[7] "Nothing else did they begin to raise up in the heavens except for right and truth, until a portion of the angels on account of pride fell into error. They no longer wished to accomplish their own best interest, but they turned away from natural love of God. They boasted greatly that they with the Lord could partition the heavens, wide and heavenly bright, glorious in the power of the hosts. Pain came to them there, envy and pride and the arrogance of the angel who first began to perform that folly, to weave and stir it up. Then in words he spoke, athirst for strife, [and said] that in the north he would possess a home and high seat of the kingdom of heaven" (20b-34a).

[8] "Then God became angry and wroth towards that multitude whom previously he had dignified with splendor and glory. He made for the faith-breaker a miserable home (of exile) as a reward for the deed, lamentations of hell, hard afflictions. Our Lord commanded the guardians of souls to endure that prison of exiles deep, devoid of joys, when he knew it to be finished, enveloped in perpetual night, filled with torment, filled throughout with fire and intense cold,with smoke and red flame. He then commanded that throughout that desolate abode torments should multiply. They had heaped up a bitter mass of wrongs against God. They received that bitter reward" (34b-45a).

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hehste wið þam herge. ne mihton hygelease,
mæne wið metode, mægyn bryttigan
Ac him se mæra mod getwæfde,
bælc forbigde. þa he gebolgen wearð,
besloh synsceaþan sigore and gewealde,
dome and dugeðe, and dreame benam
his feond, friðo and gefean ealle,
torhte tire, and his torn gewræc
on gesacum swiðe selfes mihtum
strengum stiepe. hæfde styrne mod,
gegremed grymme, grap on wraðe
faum folmum, and him on fæðm gebræc
yr' on mode. æðele bescyrede
his wiðerbrecan wuldorgestealdum.[9]
Sceop þa and scyrede scyppend ure
oferhidig cyn engla of heofnum,
wærleas werod. waldend sende
laðwendne here on langne sið,
geomre gastas; wæs him gylp forod,
beot forborsten, and forbiged þrym,
wlite gewemmed. heo on wrace syððan
seomodon swearte, siðe ne þorfton
hlude hlihhan, ac heo helltregum
werige wunodon and wean cuðon,
sar and sorge, susl þrowedon
þystrum beþeahte, þearl æfterlean
þæs þe heo ongunnon wið gode winnan.

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9 "They, violent of mood, had said that they would possess a kingdom, and that they might easily do so. This hope deceived them when the Ruler, the High King of the heavens, raised His most powerful hands against the host. They, lacking wisdom, were not allowed power with the Lord, to share power. But the Almighty one deprived them of courage, humbled their arrogance. Once He was angered, He deprived the sin-enemies of victory and power, of dignity and wealth, and of joy [He] deprived his adversary, of peace and of all happiness, of shining glory, and, with a firm downward motion, he avenged his anger severely on [His] adversaries by His own powers. He had a stern heart, bitterly provoked, [He] seized the enemies with hostile hands, and crushed them in [His] grip angry in his heart, from their native home He cut off His adversaries from heavenly mansions" (46-64b)

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þa wæs soð swa ær sibb on heofnum,
fægre freoþoþeawas, frea eallum leof,
þeoden his þegnum; þrymmas weoxon
duguða mid drihtne, dreamhæbbendra.[10]

[ii] Wæron þa gesome, þa þe swegl buan,
wuldres eðel. wroht wæs asprungen,
oht mid englum and orlegnið,
siððan herewosan heofon ofgæfon,
leohte belorene. him on laste setl,
wuldorspedum welig, wide stodan
gifum growende on godes rice,
beorht and geblædfæst, buendra leas,
siððan wræcstowe werige gastas
under hearmlocan heane geforan.[11]
þa þeahtode þeoden ure
modgeþonce, hu he þa mæran gesceaft,
eðelstaðolas, eft gesette,
swegltorhtan seld selran werode
þa hie gielpsceaþan ofgifen hæfdon
heah on heofenum. forþam halig god
under roderas feng, ricum mihtum
wolde þæt him eorðe and uproder
and sid wæter geseted wurde,

[10] "So our Creator adjudged and separated out the arrogant clan of angels out of the heavens, the faithless host. The Ruler dispatched the evil-minded host, the miserable spirits; on a long journey, their bragging was broken, boast shattered, their power humbled, their beauty defiled. Thereafter they hovered black in misery, on account of that journey they need not laugh loudly, but in the torments of hell they were dwelling miserably and they knew woe, pain and sorrow, they suffered torment covered in darkness, severe retribution, because they had striven against God. Then there was as before true peace in the heavens, fair peaceful behavior, the Lord loved by all, the King by his thegns; the powers increased of the tried retainers with the Lord, of those possessed of joys" (65-81b).

[11] "[ii] They were in accord then, those who were to inhabit the sky, homeland of glory. Strife had ceased, enmity and warfare among the angels, since the contentious one gave up heaven, deprived of light. Behind them thrones, rich in abundances of glory, stood abroad increasing in gifts, in God's kingdom, bright and prosperous, devoid of inhabitants, since to their place of exile the miserable spirits in hell-dungeon departed hence" (82-91b).

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woruldgesceafte on wraðra gield,
þara þe, forhealdene, of hleo sende.
Ne wæs her þa giet nymþe heolstersceado
wiht geworden, ac þes wida grund
stod deop and dim, drihtne fremde,
idel and unnyt. on þone eagum wlat
stiðfriht cining and þa stowe beheold,
dreama lease, geseah deorc gesweorc
semian sinnihte sweart under roderum,
wonn and weste, oð þæt þeos woruldgesceaft
þurh word gewearð wuldorcyninges.[12]

For all of the narrative vigor and drama of this account of Lucifer's fall, virtually every detail in this *exordium* can be paralleled quite readily in Old English or Christian-Latin religious literature. The pattern of the narrative as a whole, however, and the understanding of the myth implicit in the poet's treatment of it are unparalleled in Old English poetry, and as far as I know, no editor or commentator on the poem has yet adduced a Latin narrative text which corresponds in these respects to the poem as we have it. As Doane remarks:

> The narrative material in this part of [*Genesis A*] is drawn from well-established hexameral topics, nearly every detail being paralleled in Anglo-Saxon sources alone. But the arrangement and

12 "Then our Lord meditated in His mind how He might resettle that glorious creation, its settlements, bright heavenly dwellings, with a better host since the boasting-scathers had quit them high in the heavens. Therefore Holy God under the orb of the heavens, with His mighty powers willed that for him earth and sky and broad water should be established, a created world in compensation for the adversaries, those whom, fallen, He banished from protection. There was not as of yet anything but the shadow of darkness come into being, but this wide abyss stood deep and dim, remote from the Lord, empty and unused. Thereupon with his eyes He looked, the strong-minded king, and beheld that place, devoid of joys, and He saw the murky darkness, the perpetual night hovering black beneath the heavens, black and desolate, until this created world came into being by the Word of the King of Glory" (92-111b).

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> the narrative movement are the poet's. It seems safe to say that this is theologically, if not dramatically, the most sophisticated and complete realization of the topic in OE.[13]

Doane's comments are obviously evaluative and open to objection on points of detail, but his larger point seems justified. In this chapter, I propose to argue that the narrative of the fall of the angels in *Genesis A* is paralleled in at least two Anglo-Latin charters of the middle to late tenth century, i.e. "King Edgar's Privilege to New Minster,Winchester" (BL MS Cotton Vesp. A. viii, fols. 2v-33v), and a Burton Abbey charter contained in the Peniarth Cartulary (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Peniarth MS 390). Furthermore, I wish to demonstrate that the motif as we have it in these three texts constitutes a rather distinct view of the earliest events of the creation myth. It would appear to have been a "popular" theme at a certain time and place in Anglo-Saxon England, and thus it may prove to be of some significance for the dating and placing of the Junius 11 manuscript and its contents. But before attempting to make this case it is necessary to address some of the theological and historical problems raised by this problematical myth as it was understood during this period.[14]

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[13] Doane, p. 227.

[14] For a well-written and authoritative survey of Christian thought concerned with this myth see Montano, *The Sin of the Angels*, pp. 1-46.

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I.

The first point to emphasize is that the myth itself is absolutely central to the Christian understanding of cosmology. God, who is Himself entirely good, created all things, and there is nothing which He did not make. But if this is so, how did evil and suffering arise? The traditional answer is that the fall of man is the occasion of suffering and evil in the physical universe, but man's fall was precipitated by the fall of the angels--who, in one way or another, were responsible for the ill will and guile which the serpent exhibited towards Eve. (The question of the exact relationship of the serpent of the Biblical narrative and the fallen angels remained an open issue.) Understood in these terms, the Biblical account of the fall of man is only half the story. The real origin of evil and suffering occurred when Lucifer fell from heaven. There is, however, no biblical text which directly narrates this event; Ezechiel 28:1 ff. and Isaias 14:12 ff. were thought by patristic exegetes to allude to it, and the fall of angels is more briefly mentioned in the New Testament; but these texts either refer to the myth allusively or discuss it in highly metaphorical language. They do not provide a clear narrative account of what happened, or offer any but the most general explanation for this cataclysmic event. Again, Apocryphal texts, particularly 1 and 2 Enoch, provide a good deal of information about the fallen angels, but they too do not provide a clear and readily accessible account which Christian thinkers were prepared to accept as authoritative.

Faced with this lacuna, Church Fathers, particularly Augustine and Gregory the Great, discussed the fall of the sinful angels at considerable length and expanded the spare and cryptic Biblical allusions to this dogma

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into a quite elaborate account of the rebellion and punishment of Lucifer and his followers. The difficulty with this material, from the point of view of an Anglo-Saxon poet, is that since the Fathers were writing theology or exegesis and not narrative, their discussion tended to be focused upon specific Biblical verses and is as a result discontinuous. Again, these authorities sometimes disagreed among themselves or frankly admitted that they were forced to speculate because of the silence of scripture. They had a plausible explanation for this silence–Moses did not wish to discuss angels at any length lest the Israelites, who had just made their covenant with Jahweh, be tempted to offer inappropriate worship to those marvelous creatures[15]–but the fact remained that this myth had to be inferred from scripture on the basis of the sometimes divergent exegesis of the relevant authorities. Thus even such an apparently simple question as when in the history of creation the fall of angels occurred, occasioned quite different answers. Augustine insisted that it was in the first moments of existence of the fallen angels when they turned away from their Creator, whereas according to the *Vita Adae et Evae* Satan did not fall until after the creation of Adam.[16] Isidore of Seville, whose *Sententiae* offer a useful compendium of patristic opinion, follows Augustine, but indicates that the question is not one which permits an authoritative answer.[17]

From the point of view of the literary historian, the most immediate consequences of the history and development of this myth is that while it is

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[15] See Montano, *The Sin of the Angels*, p. 15; for an authoritative patristic Latin opinion concerning angel-worship see Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 10.19; CCSL 47, pp. 293-94.

[16] Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, 11.16 and 11.26, CSEL 28.1, pp. 348-49 and 358-59. For a convenient (translated) text of the "Life of Adam and Eve" see M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1985) II, 249-95. The introduction contains a full recent bibliography.

[17] *Sententiae* 10.7; PL 83, p. 555.

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fundamental in the sense that the entire sequence of Christian history from the fall to the last judgment was consequent and dependent upon it, there existed no authoritative narrative text which provided a clear account of the fall of the angels. There were, however, two closely related genres which did deal with these events as narrative to one extent or another, namely the hexameral tradition and the genre known as "catachetical *narratio*." Both have been associated with the opening lines of *Genesis A*.

The *Hexameron* is the name generally given to exegetical and homiletic accounts of the creation of the world organized according to the six days of creation, as told in the book of Genesis. As F.E. Robbins remarks, they are a diverse body of texts, the contents and approach of any given text rendering them "sometimes a simple exegesis and sometimes an allegorical version of the scriptural story."[18] Scholars who have associated this genre in one way or another with *Genesis A* include S.J. Crawford, and the poem's most recent editor, A.N. Doane.[19] The "catachetical *narratio*"–a summary of Christian history from its origins to the last Judgment–is a narrative homiletic form which is attested in both Latin and Old English versions; Virginia Day has argued that such a narrative was the *Vorlage* of the opening passages of *Genesis A* .[20] The existing versions of such narratives in both Latin and Old English, however, are much briefer and less developed as literature than the opening lines of *Genesis A* and in important details the extant catachetical and hexameral narratives differ significantly from the poem.

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[18] F. E.Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature*. Chicago: 1912, p. 1.

[19] S. J. Crawford, "The Cædmon Poems," *Anglia* 49 (1925-26): 279-84. Doane mentions the putative relation of *Genesis A* to the hexameral tradition in several places, i.e. pp. 57-8 and in his notes to lines 18-81 (Doane, p. 227).

[20] Virginia Day, "The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English Literature" *ASE* 3 (1974): 51-61.

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In considering the traditional content of *Genesis A*, Doane observes that "works both earlier and perhaps later than the poem are useful, so long as they are in the Latin, Augustinian tradition."[21] While this is certainly true in a general sort of way, when considering the putative sources and influences of the *exordium* of *Genesis A* it is well to keep in mind a number of important differences between Augustine's writings on Genesis and the *Genesis A* poet's treatment of the topic. Augustine "was the second of the great innovators of the Hexaemeral tradition and chief authority of the mediaeval Latin writers on creation."[22] Of all his works that touch on the subject, *De Genesi ad Litteram* was the most important and influential for the development of the hexameral tradition in the Middle Ages. Yet we should remember that Augustine's interpretation of the events of creation was largely allegorical, and he in fact rejects the belief that the world was created in six natural days.[23] Robbins sums up the nature of most medieval Hexamera succinctly:

> As for the other Hexaemera of this period, their first characteristic is eclecticism, the citation, comparison, and discussion of previously expressed opinions, rather than the formation of original views. Furthermore, although Augustine was the great authority from whom all drew and to whom was accorded universal respect, there was a constantly growing tendency to eliminate the abstraction of Augustinianism, and to present a more concrete exegesis, representing the successive creations as the steps in a physical process. Some of the earlier Hexaemera, for example those of the pseudo-Eucherius, Angelomus, and the *Commentary* of Beda, are distinctly Augustinian; but there grew up a dissatisfaction, the germ of which is found in the *Hexaemeron* of Beda, with the Augustinian

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21 Doane p. 57.
22 Robbins, p. 64.
23 *De Genesi ad Litteram* 4.18.33.

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> doctrines of the creation of all things at once and the allegorical interpretation of the six days.[24]

There is little in the opening passage of *Genesis A* to link it directly with the hexameral tradition. After all, the most distinctive feature is lacking: the organization according to the six days of creation. Moreover, there remains the fact that creation according to the order of the days enters the picture in *Genesis A* only after the creation of the first day and night, at 131 ff. A further point that argues against significant influence by the Augustinian hexameral tradition on *Genesis A* is the absence of Augustine's interpretation of Gen. 1.3-4, i.e. the theory that would link the separation of light and darkness to the simultaneous creation and fall of the angels. Despite Doane's assertion to the contrary, the association of the good angels with light, and the bad angels with darkness in the Old English poem hardly extends beyond rather universally held beliefs concerning the dominant characteristics of angels and devils.[25] If, despite the absence of formal hexameral characteristics, one supposes that our poet was adapting material from the hexameral tradition, then one might consider this

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[24] Robbins, p. 77.

[25] Most of the "associations" Doane refers to in his comment on lines 34b-91 describe the fallen angels in terms of lost brightness or splendor, not, as one might expect from Doane's comments, as allegorical manifestations of light and darkness themselves: Line 58a: God deprives Lucifer of "torhte tire" (shining glory); having been expelled from heaven with their "beauty defiled" (wlite gewemmed, 71), the fallen angels "on wrace syððan seomodon swearte" hovered black in misery (71b-72a). Likewise at 76a they are "þystrum beþeahte," covered in darkness. At 86a Satan is again described as having lost his splendor, he is "leohte belorene," "deprived of light." Doane's citation of line 79 as an illustration of this association of the angels with light remains cryptic, and line 89 contains in fact a reference to the thrones vacated by the fallen angels as "beorht," bright. I would on similar grounds take exception to his comment on lines 121b-123a ("metod engla heht . . . leoht forð cuman . . ."), namely that "This paraphrase of [Gen.] 1.3 recalls the common explanation of the verse that the creation of light signified the creation of the angels" (p. 233). It is no more necessarily a "paraphrase" of this scriptural verse than that lines 156b ff. ("frea heht . . . þurh his word wesan wæter gemæne") constitute a paraphrase of verses 1.6-9, which "recall" the belief (noted by Augustine in *De civ. Dei* 11.34) that the separation of earth and waters marks the creation of the angels.

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absence as a symptom of the kind of dissatisfaction described by Robbins. It would appear that if the *Genesis A* poet was familiar with Augustine's particular view of these events (a possibility that seems quite likely), it did not in the end prove congenial to him.

The poet's description of the heavenly order in the opening section of the poem assumes the creation of the host of angels prior to all other things. Again, the exact moment in the history of creation in which the angels themselves were created (and subsequently fell) was an issue which was widely debated and variously resolved in patristic commentary and writings in the hexameral tradition. Doane remarks that the "main tradition tended to treat the Fall as part of the angelic creation itself, whether or not specific commentators regarded it as taking place later in time."[26] But this statement is at best misleading, at worst simply wrong when applied to *Genesis A*. Presumably what Doane means in this case by "main tradition" is Augustine's interpretation of Gen. 1:3-4, formulated for the first time in the *De Genesi ad Litteram* and refined in *De civitate Dei*.[27] Doane acknowledges as well the existence of a "popular" tradition that held that the angels fell on the fifth or sixth day of creation. Ælfric was one such writer who followed this "popular" tradition, in his *Exameron Anglice*.[28]

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[26] Doane, p. 227.

[27] In *De Genesi ad Litteram* Augustine proposes the theory that the words *creavit Deus cælum* in Gen. 1:1 meant that God created the angels, and that the words *fiat lux* of Gen. 1:3 meant that God "illuminated" the angels, this illumination being simultaneous with their creation (see *De Genesi ad Litteram* , 1.4.9-1.5.10, 1.9.15-17, 1.17.32. In *De civitate Dei*, however, Augustine reiterates the idea that the creation of the angels was included in the creation of heaven at Gen. 1:1 (11.9), but proceeds to emphasize the notion that their creation is referred to at Gen. 1:3, followed by the separation of good and bad angels at 1:4 (11.7; 11.9; 11.11; 11.19; 11.32).

[28] On ðam ylcan dæge ure Drihten wolde
mannan gewyrcan of ðære ylcan eorðan,
forðamðe on ðysum fyrste afeoll se deofoll
of ðære healican heofonan mid his gegadum
for his upahæfednysse into helle wite.

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While the *Genesis A* poet does not, then, arrange his narrative according to the six days of creation, it is nevertheless clear that the angelic host has been created before the material world, and the near simultaneity of their creation and fall sought by Augustine in Gen. 1:3-4 (and apparently found by Doane in *Genesis A*)[29] is conspicuously absent.

So while the basic lines of Augustine's interpretation of these passages of Genesis may have been familiar to the *Genesis A* poet, one can hardly claim that they exerted any formative influence on the structure of his narrative. If anything, the *Genesis A* poet may be seen to tend towards an interpretation of these events which Augustine acknowledges but does not himself espouse, namely that the creation of the angels took place at an unspecified time before that implied by Gen. 1:1:

> Ne quis autem contendat et dicat non sanctos angelos esse significatos in eo quod scriptum est: *Fiat lux, et facta est lux*, sed quamlibet lucem tunc primum factam esse corpoream aut opinetur aut doceat; angelos autem prius esse factos non tantum ante firmamentum quod inter aquas et aquas factum appellatum est caelum, sed ante illud de quo dictum est: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram*; atque illud quod dictum est: *In principio*, non ita dictum tanquam primum hoc factum sit, cum ante fecerit angelos, sed quia omnia in sapientia fecit, quod est Verbum eius et ipsum scriptura principium nominavit–sicut ipse in evangelio Iudaeis quaerentibus quis esset respondit se esse principium–, non e contrario referam contentionem [...]. Proinde ut volet quisque accipiat, quod ita profundum est ut ad exercitationem

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[On the same day [i.e. the sixth], our Lord wished to form man of the same earth, for at this time the devil fell from the high heaven with his companions, on account of his presumption, into hell-torment.] S. J. Crawford, ed. *Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron.* BaP 10, Hamburg: Verlag von Henri Grand, 1921, pp. 55-6.

[29] See Doane's comments on lines 31b-91 (in which he sees a correspondence to the separation of light and darkness) which seem strained to this writer, and likewise on 121b-123a,where he mentions Augustine's explanation of the significance of the separation of darkness and light in Gen. 1:3. See also note 18, above.

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> legentium a fidei regula non abhorrentes plures possit generare sententias ... .[30]

It seems clear to me that it pleased our poet to adopt the alternative view Augustine mentions here. Nowhere in the first 110 lines of the *exordium* in *Genesis A* is the creation of the physical world described; rather the existence of the spiritual intelligences is implicit as their function, dwelling place, and the events leading up to the fall of the angels are recounted. It is only at line 112 ff. that the creation of the physical world is narrated:

> her ærest gesceop ece drihten,
> helm eallwihta, heofon and eorðan,
> rodor arærde, and þis rume land
> gestaþelode strangum mihtum,
> frea ælmihtig. Folde wæs þa gyta
> græsungrene. garsecg þeahte
> sweart synnihte, side and wide,
> wonne wægas.[31]

Lines 112-13 of the above passage correspond neatly to Gen. 1.1. It is moreover striking how the presentation of this material in *Genesis A*

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30 *De civitate Dei* 11.32, CCSL 48, pp. 351-52: "But if someone oppose our opinion, and say that the holy angels are not referred to when it is said, "Let there be light, and there was light;" if he suppose or teach that some material light, then first created, was meant, and that the angels were created, not only before the firmament dividing the waters and named "the heaven," but also before the time signified in the words, "In the beginning God created the heaven and earth;" if he allege that this phrase, "In the beginning" does not mean that nothing was made before (for the angels were), but that God made all things by His wisdom or Word, who is named in Scripture "the Beginning," as He Himself, in the gospel, replied to the Jews when they asked Him who He was, that He was the Beginning;–I will not contest the point . . . Let each one, then take it as he pleases; for it is so profound a passage, that it may well suggest, for the exercise of the reader's tact, many opinions, and none of them widely departing from the rule of faith." *De civitate Dei* 11.32. Translation from *The City of God by Saint Augustine*, trans. Marcus Dods, D.D. (Random House: New York), 1950.

31 "Here the eternal Lord, Protector of all creatures, first created heaven and earth, raised up the sky and founded this vast land with His mighty powers. The earth was then not yet green with grass. Black, perpetual night far and wide concealed the ocean, its dark waves."

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parallels so closely the order of events described by Augustine in *De civitate Dei* above (i.e. that the creation of the angels occurred sometime before the events implied by the first verse of Genesis: *In Principio creavit Deus caelum et terram*). Thus the narrative structure of this section of the poem bears no resemblance to the scheme implied in Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram* (which after all is itself not a narrative). The point of all this is that if the *Genesis A* poet drew upon some existing narrative model for this section of his poem, it is unlikely to have been one as firmly grounded in the Augustinian hexameral tradition (with respect to the features discussed thus far) as Doane suggests. Hence we need not be satisfied with Doane's rather misleading classification of the influences on this section as stolidly Augustinian and vaguely hexameral. As we shall see, the *Genesis A* poet departs from the Augustinian interpretation of the story of Lucifer's fall in a number of important ways, all of which are potentially significant for our discussion of this manifestation of the motif in Anglo-Saxon England.

Much more promising as a potential influence on the passage in question are texts belonging to the genre of the catechetical *narratio*. Not least of the reasons for this is that these texts, following the example set by Augustine in his *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, were intended by nature to be narrative accounts of creation history, rather than exegetical interpretations of individual passages of scripture (as was the case with the origins of the hexameral tradition). Augustine describes the purpose of these instructional narratives as follows:

> Narratio plena est, cum quisque primo catechizatur ab eo quod scriptum est, *in principio fecit deus caelum et terram*, usque ad praesentia tempora ecclesiae. Non tamen propterea debemus totum

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> pentateuchem, totosque, iudicum et regnorum et Esdrae libros, totumque evangelium et acta apostolorum, vel, si ad verbum edidicimus, memoriter reddere, vel nostri verbis omnia, quae his continentur voluminibus narrando evolvere et explicare; quod nec tempus capit, nec ulla necessitas postulat; sed cuncta summatim generatimque complecti, ita ut eligantur quaedam mirabiliora quae suavius audiuntur, atque ipsis articulis constituta sunt, ut ea tanquam in involucris ostendere, statimque a conspectu abripere non oporteat, sed aliquantum immorando quasi resolvere atque expandere, et inspicienda atque miranda offerre animis auditorium: cetera vero celeri percursione inserendo contexere.[32]

Virginia Day makes a suggestive claim for the influence of this genre on Genesis A in an article that Doane apparently did not take into consideration when he produced his edition.[33] As Day notes, "the influence of the narratio is probably to be seen in Genesis, especially in its opening section (1-102) on God, the creation of the heavens, the fall of the angels and the decision to create man; in the remainder of the poem the influence of the hexameral and Genesis traditions seems stronger."[34] But Augustine's own version of the *narratio* was, as Day points out, too complex and

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[32] "The narration is complete when the beginner is first instructed from the text: *In the beginning God created heaven and earth*, down to the present period of church history. That does not mean, however, that we ought to repeat verbatim the whole of the Pentateuch, and all the books of Judges and Kingdoms and Esdras, and the entire Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (if we have learned them by heart), or relate in our own words all that is contained in these books, and thus develop and explain them; for which neither time serves nor any need calls. But we ought to present all the matter in a general and comprehensive summary, choosing certain of the more remarkable facts that are heard with greater pleasure and constitute the cardinal points in history: these we ought not to present as a parchment rolled up and at once snatch them out of sight, but we ought by dwelling somewhat upon them to untie, so to speak, and spread them out to view, and offer them to the minds of our hearers to examine and admire. But the remaining details we should weave into our narrative in a rapid survey." *De Cat. Rud.* 7.4; trans. J.P. Christopher, *The First Catechetical Instruction*. Vol. 2. Ancient Christian Writers, Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1946; p. 18.

[33] Day's "The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English Literature" (see note 13 above) appeared in 1974, while Doane published his edition in 1978.

[34] Day, p. 55.

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philosophical to be of much use to later writers. They produced their own, simpler narratives to fit the needs of instructing a simpler audience.[35] There is nothing in particular in Augustine's *narratio* that corresponds to the opening section of *Genesis A*, so we must look elsewhere to discover potentially influential texts. To this end I propose to survey the texts listed by Day in her study. I do not claim to have found the source for the opening of our poem in one of these *narrationes*, nor would I suggest that it would be possible to do so. Indeed, Day formulates an important caveat concerning our knowledge of this genre:

> Presumably [the *narrationes*] would have been in the vernacular and mostly would not have been written down at all. Catechism was always a predominantly oral activity. Our evidence is likely to come from works of advice to those who would be carrying out this form of instruction, from narratives in which teaching of this kind is reported and from the influence of the *narratio* detectable in literature.[36]

Despite this caveat, however, it may be possible to discern patterns in the arrangement of details in the surviving texts, so that, even within the seemingly limited scope of the subject matter contained in these narratives, the inclusion of some details and the exclusion of others may prove meaningful in terms of the influence these models may have had on literary versions of this catechetical material, among them *Genesis A*.

In the context of this discussion we are most interested, for reasons that will become clear, in how (or whether) each narrative provides the answers to a number of basic questions. First, when did the creation of the

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35 Day, p. 52.
36 Day, p. 53.

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angels and the spiritual world take place? Second, when did a portion of the heavenly host fall? And last, but most importantly: what, if any, are the implications of these events for the creation of the physical world and man? Following this brief survey of the Latin and vernacular *narratio* genre, I shall turn to other Old English poems that contain the motif of the Fall of Lucifer and compare them to *Genesis A* with the same questions in mind. The purpose of this review is to establish the status of the *Genesis A* narrative relative to other texts dealing with the same theme. As we shall see, this is of great importance to the further development of my argument.

As I have already noted, Augustine's *De Catechizandis Rudibus* presents none of the details concerning the creation of the angels and Lucifer's fall of interest to us here. Among the fuller examples of the extant *narrationes*, the *De Fide Catholica* attributed to Boethius is certainly one of the most pertinent, and Crawford quoted from it extensively as the possible basis for the opening lines of *Genesis A*:

> Ergo diuina ex aeterno natura et in aeternum sine aliqua mutabilitate perdurans sibi tantum conscia uoluntate sponte mundum uoluit fabricare eumque cum omnino non esset fecit ut esset, nec ex sua substantia protulit, ne diuinus natura crederetur, neque aliunde molitus est, ne iam exstitisse aliquid quod eius uoluntatem exsistentia propriae naturae iuuaret atque esset quod neque ab ipso factum esset et tamen esset; sed uerbo produxit caelos, terram creauit, ita ut caelesti habitatione dignas caelo naturas efficeret ac terrae terrena componeret. De caelestibus autem naturis, quae uniuersaliter uocatur angelica, quamuis illic distinctis ordinibus pulchra sint omnia, pars tamen quaedam plus appetens quam ei natura atque ipsius auctor naturae tribuerat de caelesti sede proiecta est; et quoniam angelorum numerum, id est supernae illius ciuitatis cuius ciues angeli sunt, imminutum noluit conditor permanere, formauit ex terra hominem atque spiritu uitae animauit, ratione composuit, arbitrii libertate

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> decorauit eumque praefixa lege paradisi deliciis constituit, ut, si sine peccato manere uellet, tam ipsum quam eius progeniem angelicis coetibus sociaret, ut quia superior natura per superbiae malum ima petierat, inferior substantia per humilitatis bonum ad superna conscenderet. Sed ille auctor inuidiae non ferens hominem illuc ascendere ubi ipse non meruit permanere, temptatione adhibita fecit etiam ipsum eiusque comparem, quam de eius latere generandi causa formator produxerat, inoboedientiae suppliciis subiacere, ei quoque diuinitatem affuturam promittens, quam sibi dum arroganter usurpat elisus est.[37]

According to this account God brings forth the "world" from nothing, whereupon He creates the earth and heavens by His Word. It is possible to interpret these references to the creation of the "world" and subsequent formation of the heavens and earth as two separate creations, namely those of the spiritual and physical worlds, though admittedly the text is less than clear on this point. It is also possible to take the phrase, *ita ut caelesti*

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[37] Stewart, H.F. and E.K. Rand, ed. *De Fide Catholica, The Theological Tractates of Boethius*. London: 1918. 56-59. "The divine nature, then, abiding from all eternity and unto all eternity without any change, by the exercise of a will known only to Himself, determined of Himself to form the world, and brought it into being when it was absolutely naught, nor did He produce it from His own substance, lest it should be thought divine by nature, nor did He form it after any model, lest it should be thought that anything had already come into being which helped His will by the existence of an independent nature, and that there should exist something, that had not been made by Him and yet existed; but by His Word He brought forth the heavens, and created the earth that so He might make natures worthy of a place in heaven, and also fit earthly things to earth. But although in heaven all things are beautiful and arranged in due order, yet one part of the heavenly creation which is universally termed angelic, seeking more than nature and the Author of Nature had granted them, was cast forth from its heavenly habitation; and because the Creator did not wish the roll of the angels, that is of the heavenly city whose citizens the angels are, to be diminished, He formed man out of the earth and breathed into him the breath of life; He endowed him with reason, He adorned him with freedom of choice and established him in the joys of Paradise, making covenant aforehand that if he would remain without sin He would add him and his offspring to the angelic hosts; so that as the higher nature had fallen low through the curse of pride, the lower substance might ascend on high through the blessing of humility. But the father of envy, loath that man should climb to the place where he himself deserved not to remain, put temptation before him and the consort whom the Creator had brought forth out of his side for the continuance of the race, and laid them open to punishment for disobedience, promising man also the gift of the Godhead, the arrogant attempt to seize which had caused his own fall."

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habitatione dignas caelo naturas efficeret ac terrae terrena componeret, as an inclusive reference to both the spiritual and physical creations. Of the two, this latter interpretation seems the more likely, given the explicit apportioning of things spiritual and earthly to their respective places: for "*naturas*" we may read "angels." Viewed thus, the physical world has already been established by the time Lucifer (here referred to obliquely as *pars tamen quaedam*) falls. But while the creation of the physical world is not dependent on Lucifer's fall, man's creation is: *et quoniam angelorum numerum, id est supernae illius ciuitatis cuius ciues angeli sunt, imminutum noluit conditor permanere, formauit ex terra hominem.* God created man from the earth in order to prevent the ranks of the angels from being diminished. To return to the questions outlined above, then, we may note that the Pseudo-Boethian *De Fide Catholica* specifies when the angels were created (before man, certainly, though whether before Gen. 1:1 or at 1:3-4, following Augustine, is not detailed); as well as when Lucifer fell (before man was created). The implications of his fall for the creation of the physical world and man differ in one significant point from the *Genesis A* account: it is quite impossible to read into this text the idea that had Lucifer not fallen, the physical world would not have come into being.

In each of the following two narratives a portion of the text constitutes a sermon dealing with catechetical *narratio* material. The *recensio Vaticana* of the *Acta Andrea et Matthiae apud anthropophagos* includes an account of Andrew preaching on the Christian cycle from creation to the ascension, but this sermon does not include any of the cosmogenic details of interest to us here.[38] The *Vita Sanctorum Barlaam*

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38 For the *recensio Vaticana*, see Franz Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andrea et Matthiae apud anthropophagos* (Giessen, 1930), p. 119 ff. Robert Boenig says

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Eremitae et Josaphat Indiae Regis depicts Barlaam likewise preaching on the same subjects.[39] This account compresses the creation and sin of the rebel angels and the fall of man into a compact narrative that touches on most of the important points, but leaves out many details:

> Primum scilicet invisibilium ac coelestium virtutum innumerabilem quamdam multitudinem a materia et corpore secretam, hoc est administros divinæ majestatis spiritus; deinde autem mundum hunc in aspectum cadentem, hoc est coelum, ac terram, et mare; quem etiam lætissima luce coornavit, coelum nempe sole ac luna et sideribus, terram autem omnis generis stirpibus ac variis animantibus. Hæc omnia ipse dixit, et facta sunt; ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psalm 148). Post autem hominem suismet manibus effingit, sumpto nimi[n?]um a terra ad corporis compositionem luto, anima autem rationis et intellligentiæ participe per suam insufflationem ipsi tributa, quæ quidem ad Dei imaginem et similitudinem effecta esse scripta est (Gen. I): ad imaginem videlicet, propter vim intelligendi atque arbitrii libertatem; ad similitudinem autem, propter virtutis ipsius, quoad ejus fieri potest, imitationem. Hunc porro hominem, arbitrii libertate atque immortalitate donatum, eorum quæ in terra sunt regem constituit; atque ex ipso feminam, quæ ipsi auxilio esset, ipsi similem effecit.
>
> Consitoque in Eden ad Orientem paradiso, voluptatis omnis atque oblectamenti pleno, hominem, quem effinxerat, in ipso collocavit; sic quidem, ut divina bonitas omnia ligna quæ illic erant sine ullo impedimento eum percipere juberet; unius autem duntaxat degustatione ipsi interdiceret (quod quidem lignum scientiæ boni et mali appellatum est), his verbis utens: Quacunque die comederitis ex eo, morte moriemini. Enimvero unus ex prædictis angeliis copiis,

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of this early eleventh-century Codex Vaticanus that it is "far removed from the Greek tradition." It concludes with a long sermon by Andrew to the converted cannibals, "a detail missing from the main tradition" (*The acts of Andrew in the Country of the Cannibals: Translations from the Greek, Latin, and Old English*, vol. 7 series B, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Garland: New York, 1991, p. iii).

[39] PL 73, col. 464-66.

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> qui uni agmini præerat, cum naturalis vitii ne minimum quidem vestigium a creatore accepisset, verum boni causa procreatus fuisset, libera mentis inductione a bono in malum deflexit, atque insolentia elatus, adversus Dominum ac Deum rebellare voluit. Ac propterea ex ordine suo ac dignitate expulsus est, atque pro beata illa gloria et angelico nomine, diaboli ac Satanæ nomen consecutus est. Deus enim ipsum, et coelesti gloria indignum, præcipitem e coelo exturbavit. Cum eo porro simul avulsa et ejecta est ingens angelorum qui ipsi suberant multitudo: qui quidem mentis inductione mali effecti, ac boni loco principis sui defectionem secuti, dæmonum nomen, ut impostores ac circumscriptores, acceperunt.
>
> Diabolus igitur, abjurato prorsus bono, malaque natura assumpta, invidiam adversus hominem concepit (Sap. 11), propterea quod seipsum e tanta gloria ejectum, illum autem ad tantum honorem subvectum perspiceret: eumque e beata illa vivendi ratione dejicere moliebatur. Quare serpentem imposturæ suæ officinam nactus, per eum feminam convenit.

While the above seems to establish the separate creation of the spiritual and physical worlds (implying the primary creation of the angels), it is unclear as to precisely where in the scheme of events Lucifer fell, for this account deals with the issue only after Adam and Eve have been created and have received their warning concerning the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. But while the text does not adhere to a strictly chronological presentation of these events, it seems clear that Satan has already been banished from heaven when he becomes envious of Adam and subsequently approaches Eve in the guise of a serpent. This account may have been influenced by the *Vita Adae et Evae*, where Luficer rebels out of envy only after Adam has been created, but ultimately it does not seem to be following that tradition alone, for envy of Adam is of course one of the main driving forces in the plot Satan hatches against man from hell. That

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man was to inherit the glories lost by Satan is clear (*Diabolus igitur . . . invidiam adversus hominem concepit, propterea quod seipsum e tanta gloria ejectum, illum autem ad tantum honorem subvectum perspiceret: eumque e beata illa vivendi ratione dejicere moliebatur*), though Lucifer's fall is nowhere cited as the reason for man's creation, or that of the entire physical world.

The *Sermo Habitus Constantiæ*, a sermon proper dealing with the complete Christian cycle of salvation history, has traditionally been attributed to St. Gall, but is now believed to have been composed by Notker Balbulus, master of the monastic school at St. Gall in the latter half of the ninth century.[40] The opening sections of this sermon are of immediate relevance here:

> Sempiternus et inæstimabilis Deus, cum coeterna sibi sapientia, hoc est, Filio sempiterno, et charitate sibi et Filio suo consempiterna, id est, Spirita sancto, absque ulla inchoationis vel temporis mutabilitate, vel locorum vel ministeriorum indigentia, semper in semetipso beata et immortali majestate subsistens. Nequaquam tamen sine congruo sibi servitiorum obsequio solitarius mansisse putandus est, cum manifestissime dicat Apostolus *Elegit nos in Christo ante constitutionem mundi* (Ephes. 1.4); prædestinatione scilicet æterna, non creatione temporaria, sed vocatione gratuita, vel indebita gratia. Sed qui semper omnia futura in sua bonitate, et maxime sanctorum angelorum, et hominum societatem, præsentialiter contuendo quasi facta disponit; aliquando etiam præscitam et prædestinatam immobili consilio creaturam, ad se laudandum, et ex se, et in se, et per se beate vivendum omnipotentissimo dignatus est opificio creare de nihilo, et super coelestia quidem beatis spiritibus habitaculum fecit, terram vero futuris hominibus præparavit. Quorum creationis causam nosse

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[40] For this attribution, see W. E. Willwoll, *Die Konstanzer Predigt des Heiligen Gallus: ein Werk des Notker Balbulus* (Freiburg, 1942).

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> nos convenit, fratres Christianissimi, ne, viles vos abjectos arbitrantes, pecudum conversatione dignitatem vestram nullificetis. II. Deus summe bonus, benevolentia plenus, invidiæ carens, malitiæ nescius, spiritus angelicos exemplo sui rationabiles creare disposuit, ut ipsum Dominum suæ cognoscentes originis auctorem, dilectionis ejus pinguedine refecti, in ipso delectarentur ess beati. Sed cum de illis aliqui, nondum de ejus dulcedine degustata, seipsos sibi esse principium et caput, vitamque et suavitatem, cursu temerario et stultissimo persuadere sibi præsumerent: intus inanes et vacui, superbiæque pondere prægravati, de tranquillissimo coelorum habitaculo in hujus aeris tempestuosam turbulentiam, usque in diem generalis et sempiterni judicii, repentino sunt casu detrusi. Sed immutabilis benignissimi Creatoris voluntas præfinitum beatissimi coetus numerum supplere disponens, humanum genus in eorum locum substituit.

We may gather from this account that the writer interprets Gen. 1.1 to imply simultaneous creation of the spiritual and physical worlds (*...dignatus est opificio creare de nihilo, et super coelestia quidem beatis spiritibus habitaculum fecit, terram vero futuris hominibus præparavit*). These are the dwelling places of the angels and man, respectively. The reason for the creation of the latter (and the order of their creation) follows. The angels are created in order to honor God; when one of them presumes through his pride to set himself up as Prince of heaven, he is cast out of his heavenly abode. Thus this version of the fall of Lucifer concides more or less with the others we have seen so far, yet it differs from *Genesis A* in one important way: The physical earth has already been called into being before Lucifer falls; that fall is not the direct cause of its inception.

A clear example of the catechetical *narratio* is the sermon known as *De Correctione Rusticorum*, composed by the sixth century Bishop of

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Galicia, Martin of Braga (ca. 520-80).[41] Martin wrote it in response to a request by a fellow Galician Bishop, Polemius of Asturica, and we know from the letter that prefaces the sermon that Polemius had asked him for a text he could use *pro castigatione rusticorum.*[42] In this sermon Martin sketches briefly, for the benefit of Polemius' rustic audience, the highlights of Biblical history up to and including the Flood. Sections 2 through 5 of his text recount the creation, the fall of the rebel angels, the fall of man and the flood as punishment for man's sins. Sections 3 and 4 are most relevant to this discussion:

> 3. Cum fecisset deus in principio cælum et terram, in illa cælesti habitatione fecit spiritales creaturas, id est angelos, qui in conspectu ipsius adstantes laudarent illum. Ex quibus unus, qui primus omnium archangelus fuerat factus, uidens se in tanta gloria præfulgentem, non dedit honorem deo creatori suo, sed similem se illi dixit; et pro hac superbia cum aliis plurimis angelis, qui illi consenserunt, de illa cælesti sede in aërem istum, qui est sub cælo. deiectus est; et ille, qui erat primus archangelus, perdita luce gloriæ suæ, factus est tenebrosus et horribilis diabolus. Similiter et illi alii angeli, qui consentientes illi fuerunt, cum ipso de cælo proiecti sunt, et, perdito splendore suo, facti sunt dæmones. Reliqui autem angeli, qui subditi fuerunt deo, in suæ claritatis gloria in conspectu domini perseuerant; et ipsi dicuntur angeli sancti. Nam illi, qui cum principe suo Sathan pro superbia sua iactati sunt, angeli refugæ et dæmonia appellantur.
>
> 4. Post istam uero ruinam angelicam placuit deo de limo terræ hominem plasmare, quem posuit in paradiso; et dixit ei, ut, si præceptum domini seruasset, in loco illo cælesti sine morte

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[41] This sermon was known to the Anglo-Saxons; Ælfric drew upon it in composing his *De Falsis Diis*. See Chapter Three, pp.118 ff..

[42] Martin himself was from Pannonia, and settled in Galicia only after having been a monk in Palestine and traveling widely. The audience he was writing for was not his own, it would seem, neither in diocese nor by nationality.

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> succederet, unde angeli illi refugæ ceciderunt,[43] si autem præterisset dei præceptum, morte moreretur. Uidens ergo diabolus, quia propterea factus fuerat homo, ut in loco ipsius, unde ipse cecidit, in regno dei succederet, inuidia ductus, suasit homini, ut mandata dei transcenderet. Pro qua offensa iactatus est homo de paradiso in exilio mundi istius, ubi multos labores et dolores pateretur.[44]

As is evident, Martin is silent as to the exact order of the first creation, though he too seems to imply that Gen. 1.1 refers to the creation of both spiritual and earthly realms (*Cum fecisset deus in principio cælum et terram, in illa cælesti habitatione fecit spiritales creaturas...*); the angels have been created simultaneously with, or shortly following, the establishment of heaven and earth. The replacement doctrine is here evident as well, in section 4, though it is clearly not the more radical version formulated in *Genesis A*. A compendium of Christian teaching and

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43 Caspari gives the following passage from Aug. *De civ. Dei* 50.22.1 and *Enchir. ad Laur.* c. 29: "Placuit itaque–deo, ut–creatura rationalis, quæ in hominibus erat, quoniam peccatis atque suppliciis et originalibus et propriis tota perierat, ex ejus parte reparata, quod angelicæ societati ruina illa angelica minuerat, suppleretur. Hoc enim promissum est resurgentibus sanctis, quod erunt æquales angelis dei. Ita superna Jerusalem, mater nostra, civitas dei, nulla civium suorum numerositate fraudabitur, aut uberiore etiam copia fortasse regnabit."

44 "3. In the beginning, when God created the heavens and the earth, in His celestial habitation He created spiritual creatures, that is, angels, who should stand in His presence and praise Him. One of these, who had been appointed archangel, chief of them all, seeing himself so radiant and glorious, did not pay honor to God his Creator, but said that he was equal to Him; and for this act of pride he, along with many other angels who had agreed with him were thrown out of heaven with him, lost their splendor, and became demons, while the rest of the angels, who had remained subject to God, still persevere in the glory of their brightness in the Lord's presence; and they are called holy angels, while those who were thrown out with their leader, Satan, because of their pride are called rebellious angels and demons."

"4. After this fall of the angels, it pleased God to form man from the mud of the earth and place him in paradise; and He said to him that if he obeyed the precept of the Lord, he might succeed without death to that celestial region from which those rebellious angels had fallen, but if he acted contrary to the precept of God, he should suffer death. Then the devil, seeing that man had been created to succeed to the place in the kingdom of God from which he had fallen, was induced by envy to persuade man to disobey the commands of God. For this offense man was cast from paradise into the exile of this world, where he should endure many labors and pains." Barlow, pp. 72-3

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doctrine that draws upon and follows closely Martin's treatment of the early events of creation is the *Scarapsus* of Pirmin of Reichenau (a missionary among the Alamanni, d. 753).[45] Its corresponding sections on the fall of Lucifer and man are virtually identical to Martin's.

Day includes in her discussion a brief overview of the influence of the catechetical *narratio* on Latin, Irish and Old English literature. The *Libelli de Spiritalis Historiae Gestis* of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (d. 518) is a narrative poem that mentions Lucifer's fall only in passing, and provides none of the details of cosmogenic chronology of interest to us here. The Devil makes his appearance in the book entitled "De Originali Peccato," where he features in this narrative primarily in his role as temptor and instigator of man's fall.[46]

The hiberno-latin *Altus Prosator*, attributed to Columba, presents the events leading up to and directly subsequent to Lucifer's fall in a way that seems reminiscent of *Genesis A*. Stanza 1 deals with the primordial and infinite status of God, and the coeternal nature of the Trinity. Stanza 2 recounts the creation of the angels, in which six orders are named. Stanza 3 tells of Lucifer's fall from heaven (on account of pride), while stanza 4 equates him with the ancient dragon and the slippery snake, and describes how he takes with him a third portion of the heavenly ranks. Stanza 5 deals with the creation of the physical world:

> 5. Excelsus mundi machinam praeuidens et armoniam,
> caelum et terram fecerat, mare aquas condidit,

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[45] Jecker, Gall. *Die Heimat des hl. Pirmin Des Apostels der Alamannen.* Vol. 13. Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, ed. Ildefons Herwegen. Münster in Westf.: Verlag der aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927.

[46] *Alcimi Aviti Opera.* MGH, Auct. Ant. 6.2., ed. Rudolfus Peiper. Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, pp. 203-94. See especially ll. 35-125.

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herbarum quoque germina uirgultorum arbuscula
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria
aues pisces et peccora bestias animalia
Hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagmine.[47]

The order of events as presented in these stanzas might suggest that God did not make the physical world until after Lucifer's fall, a situation reminiscent of "her ærest gesceop ece drihten, / helm eallwihta, heofon and eorþan" of *Genesis A*, vv. 112-13. But the verb tense used by the poet appears to bely this, for the pluperfect *fecerat* would allow for the creation of heaven and earth, and everything in it, including man, to have taken place even before Lucifer fell. There is at any rate no indication that God first cast Lucifer out of heaven and "then made heaven and earth," nor is there any mention of His having done so because of the gaps left in the heavenly ranks by Lucifer's fall. Hrabanus Maurus' *De Fide Catholica*, itself heavily dependant upon the *Altus Prosator*, alters nothing with respect to the presentation of these events.[48]

There are a number of relevant, essentially catechetical texts in Old English prose. Among those that include the motif of Lucifer's fall is

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47 "The Most High, foreseeing the frame and order of the world
had made the heaven and earth. The sea and waters He established;
likewise the blades of grass, the twigs of shrubs;
sun, moon, and stars; fire and necessary things;
birds, fish, and cattle; beasts and living things:
and lastly man first-formed to rule with prophecy."

Text and translation from Bernard, J. H. and R. Atkinson, *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*. Vol. 13 & 14. Henry Bradshaw Society, London: Harrison, 1898, vol. 13, p.70; and vol. 14, 151. It is worth noting that this hymn was certainly known in Anglo-Saxon England, independent of Hrabanus Maurus' adaptation of it in his *De Fide Catholica*. It is contained in a pre-Conquest English manuscript compiled in Winchester ca. 1029 (Cotton MS Galba A. xiv), edited by Bernard Muir in "Two Latin Hymns by Colum Cille (St Columba)." *Revue du moyen âge latin* 39 (1983): 205-16; and *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book* Henry Bradshaw Society 103 Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988.

48 *Carmina* 31, PL 112.

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Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, contained in his Letter to Sigeweard, which accompanies the Old English *Hexateuch* in a number of manuscripts which contain that work. The influence of the hexamera is apparent here, for Ælfric asserts that ten orders of angels were created on the first day; that somewhere within the six days of creation (Hwæt, þa binnan six dagum) Lucifer rebelled and fell; and that it was on the sixth day that God created man. There is only the briefest of hints at the replacement doctrine ("Adam ⁊ Evan [...] sceoldon habban, & heora ofspring mid him, þa fægeran wununge þe se feond forleas, gif hi gehirsumedon heora Scippende on riht"). But while the imprecise chronology of Lucifer's fall might allow for it, Ælfric does not state that God created the physical world only after that fall; indeed, the words "þa [...] þe se soða God þa gesceafta gesceop, þe he gescippan wolde," which precede the account of the rebellion, suggest instead that this was not the case.[49]

In another letter, this one to Wulfgeat at Ylmandune,[50] Ælfric recounts the creation of the angels and the fall of Lucifer, but this account does not clarify the chronology of these events, nor does the replacement doctrine feature at all. Ælfric's *Sermo de Initio Creaturæ*, on the other hand, constitutes a rather full account of the fall, and the events leading up to it, though here Ælfric again neglects to provide us with a precise chronology of the respective creation of the spiritual and physical worlds. The replacement doctrine is included; though, as before, there is no indication that the creation of the physical world should have been

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[49] See S. J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch.* Vol. O.S. 160. EETS, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.
[50] Assman, Bruno. *Ags Homilien und Heiligenleben.* BaP 3, Kassel: 1899, p. 2, ll. 31 ff.

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contingent upon Lucifer's fall.[51] Wulfstan adapts this homily in his own catechetical account of Christian history, and this text contains a detail that is reminiscent of the situation in *Genesis A*:

> An is ece God þe gesceop heofonas & eorðan & ealle gesceafta, & on fruman he gelogode on þære heofonlican gesceafte, þæt is, on heofona rice, engla weredu mycle & mære.[52]

This might imply a sequential order of creation of first the spiritual, then the physical world that goes beyond what is implied by the mere order of the words *caelum et terrae* of the biblical account, or *heofonas & eorþan* in the Old English. But like Ælfric, Wulfstan does not make the subsequent creation of the physical world contingent upon the fall of Lucifer; in fact, he does not indicate when that creation took place with respect to that of the spiritual world.

Ælfric discusses the creation of the angels and Lucifer's fall in two further documents. His *De Creatore et Creatura* touches on many of the standard points in this portion of the medieval classification of topics, but here too Ælfric gives no specifics concerning the order of creation, fall, and establishment of the physical world. The replacement doctrine is likewise mentioned, but, again, not the contingency of physical creation upon Lucifer's fall that we have identified in *Genesis A*.[53] Finally, we

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51 Benjamin Thorpe, ed. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*. London: Ælfric Society, 1844-46, vol. I, pp. 11-13.

52 Dorothy Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. 142-45.

53 Ed. B. Fehr *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics* BaP 9, Hamburg, 1914. I might also mention Ælfric's translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, as it contains questions concerning creation, the angels, the devil and the creation of man. But because it is not a narrative and follows no chronology, its contents cast no light on the issues we are concerned with here.

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return to the Hexameral tradition with Ælfric's *Exameron Anglice*. Writing within the framework of the six-day creation, Ælfric leaves no doubt as to when the spiritual world, and the materials for the subsequent creation of the physical world, came into being:

> On ðam forman dæge ure Drihten gesceop
> seofonfealde weorc, ðæt wæron ealle englas
> and ðæs leohtes angin and ðæt antimber
> ðe he of gesceop syððan gesceafta,
> ða upplican heofenan and ða nyðerlican
> eorðan, ealle wæterscypas and ða widgillan sæ,
> and ðæt upplice lyft, eall on anum dæge.
> Ða englas he geworhte on wundorlicre fægernysse
> and on mycelre strencðe, manega ðusenda,
> ealle lichamlease lybbende on gaste (95-105).[54]

The account of Lucifer's fall, however, bears no resemblance to that found in *Genesis A*. It is on the sixth day that Lucifer sins and falls, the same day that God makes man, and by this time all the other features of the physical world are firmly in place. As in many of the other versions discussed so far, the replacement doctrine is repeated, but creation of the physical world (and in it, man) is not contingent upon Lucifer's fall.[55]

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[54] Ed. S.J. Crawford, 1921: "On the first day our Lord created seven-fold works, i.e. all the angels, the beginning of light, and the material of which He afterwards created the creatures, the high heavens and the low-lying earth, all the waters and the vast sea and the high atmosphere, all in one day. The angels he made of wondrous beauty and great strength, many thousands, all incorporeal living in spirit."

[55] Ða wolde God wyrcan ðurh his wundorlican mihte
mannan of eorðan, ðe mid eadmodnisse
sceolde geearnian ðone ylcan stede
on ðæra engla geferrædene
ðe se deofol forworhte mid his dyrstignysse (Crawford, *Examerone*, ll. 324-28).

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Having reviewed the representative texts from the two genres thought to have influenced the *exordium* of *Genesis A*, we turn now to other literary manifestations of the motif in Old English poetry. Here, too, we shall be concerned mainly with whether and how these texts deal with the questions of 1) when the angels were created; 2) when the sinful ones fell; and 3) what the relationship is, either implicitly or explicitly stated, between the fall of Lucifer and the creation of the physical world and man.

Most of the poetic treatments of the fall of Lucifer in the Old English corpus are extremely allusive. Thus we find in the *Exeter Book* poem *Resignation* only the briefest mention, with no account of creation or any of the cosmogenic details we are interested in here.[56] There are two allusions to the fall in *Andreas* as well, though they are similarly brief, amounting to little more than assertions that Lucifer and his fellow rebels had been cast into hell.[57] The account of creation, in particular of the angels, their ministry to God, and the fall of Lucifer, in *Elene* is likewise lacking in any chronological detail. The context of the passage would account for this as much as anything else, for it is not an overtly catechetical one. Rather, the words are put in the mouth of Judas Cyriacus, who, in response to Helen's request that he reveal the location of the true cross, invokes angelic mediation and aid for the task. A second reference to Lucifer's fall, this time in Judas' encounter with the Ancient Adversary himself, is altogether too brief to shed any light on the matter at hand.[58] St. Juliana, in the eponymous Old English metrical saint's life, alludes to Lucifer's fall and subsequent punishment in her interrogation of a demon

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[56] ASPR III, ll. 49-58.
[57] ASPR II, ll. 1184-94, and 1375-85.
[58] ASPR II, ll. 723-71; and 934-52. See Chapter Four for a discussion of this scene.

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she has captured, but, again, this allusion appears entirely out of its cosmogenic context, and serves instead as ammunition in her flyting with the devil.[59] In a similar context, St. Guthlac uses his knowledge of the angel's rebellion against the demons who plague him in *Guthlac A*.[60] Here again the allusions to Lucifer's fate are really defiant retorts aimed at contrasting the demon's condition with Guthlac's future heavenly bliss. Cosmogeny does not enter the context at all.

While the account of the rebel angels' fall in the poetic *Solomon and Saturn* is of great interest for a number of unusual details, its portrayal of cosmogenic chronology is as incomplete as the others discussed thus far. We are told of the conflict between the "good angel and the bad," and the subsequent fall of the latter, but the context seems not to have called for any mention of the creation of heaven and earth, or even of man.[61]

The account of creation in *Christ and Satan* is fuller and bears a greater resemblance to *Genesis A* in scope and purpose. The first twenty lines or so appear to fulfill the same function as the *exordium* in the latter poem, for they provide a (very) brief overview of the early events of creation. This is not so much a narrative account of these events as it is a list of God's creative accomplishments, the reasons both for worshipping Him and proofs of His unfathomable nature. The culmination of this latter sentiment is in line 18: Hwa is þæt ðe cunne / orðonc clene nymðe ece God? (Who is there that can know to the full his design, except eternal God?). It is here that the "description" of creation becomes both chronologically confusing and unorthodox. The syntax of lines 19-21 in particular has

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59 ASPR III, ll. 417-428..
60 ASPR III, ll. 592-98; 623-36; 651b-83.
61 ASPR VI, ll. 451-76.

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caused problems for critics.[62] At least one scholar has accused the poet of heresy, interpreting these lines to suggest that Adam was created before the angels, while others have argued that no chronological order of creation need necessarily be implied here.[63] Whether what the poet has given us is to be taken chronologically or not, the lines as they stand contain at any rate no reference to the order of creation of the spiritual and physical worlds, and the poem is silent on the issue of God's motives for creating man.

The account of Lucifer's fall in *Genesis B* is a characteristically "loquacious and free" one, bearing as it does the impress of the Old Saxon style from which it derives. It begins by recounting how God ordained ten orders of angels who would work his will; one of them was more intelligent, stronger and more beautiful than all the others, second only to God Himself. In some 150 lines, Lucifer swells with pride, rebells, is cast out of heaven and thrust into hell. Satan laments his situation and describes the sufferings of hell in two speeches, in the second of which he begins to plot his revenge against man. From a chronological viewpoint, it is noteworthy that whoever made the insertion of the Old Saxon material, chose to place this version of Lucifer's fall directly after the creation of man, thus seemingly aligning the text with the hexameral tradition. Here we recall Ælfric's account of the sixth day of creation, on which Lucifer

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62 Dreamas he gedelde, duguðe and geoguþe:
Adam ærest, and þæt æðele cyn,
engla ordfruman, þæt þe eft forwarð.

[He distributed joys to old and young: first Adam and that noble race (the princes of angels), which later was degenerated.]

63 "Bright," comments Clubb, "intended by his interpretation to free the poet from the charge of heresy in 'placing the creation of man before that of the angels' (p. 51). According to Sleeth, this passage, like the opening lines of the poem, "is meant to be understood timelessly" (p. 91).

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fell and man was formed from the earth. But the matter is hardly that straightforward, for the account is told in the pluperfect ("Hæfde se alwalda engelcynna ... tene getrimede"), thus Satan's own description of his rebellion and fall, as well as the poet's, may just as easily be taken to have occurred long before the "hexameral" account of creation begun at *Genesis A* 126 ff. It does appear, however, that the Old Saxon original did not contain the same explicit representation of the order of the cosmogenic events as we have identified in *Genesis A* (lines 92-101) or we might reasonably have expected the Anglo-Saxon translater to incorporate it here as well. The only hint we have that the Saxon poet's view on the matter might have coincided with the situation described in *Genesis A* is at lines 395 ff.:

> He hæfð nu gemearcod anne middangeard, þær he hæfð mon
> [geworhtne
> æfter his onlicnesse. Mid þam he wile eft gesettan
> heofona rice mid hluttrum saulum. We þæs sculon hycgan
> [georne,
> þæt we on Adame, gif we æfre mægen,
> and on his eafrum swa some, andan gebetan,
> onwendan him þær willan sines, gif we hit mægen wihte
> [aþencan.

Especially line 395, "He has now marked out a middle-earth, where he has made man after his likeness," might convey the implication that the events it describes–creation of "middle-earth" and man–have only just taken place. The collocation of these events with the replacement doctrine expressed in the above lines, however, make it equally possible to speculate that Satan's speech here hearkens back to the account of creation in the *exordium* of

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Genesis A. What is missing of course is the explicit statement that God created the earth and man *because* Lucifer had fallen, and this lack stands in the way of resolving the implicit chronology of *Genesis B*.

From the above review of texts dealing with the motif of the fall of Lucifer a number of conclusions may be drawn. First, that the detail expressed in lines 92-101 of *Gen. A* is nowhere paralleled in the extant catechetical *narrationes* or hexamera. Of the poetic texts that make use of the motif, only *Genesis B* provides an implicit context in which one might with any degree of assurance speculate an affinity of outlook on the matter, and this might be no more than the logical result of fitting the passage into the fabric of *Genesis A*. Second, that the *Genesis A* version of the Replacement Doctrine constituted by this passage is a much more radical one than that formulated by Augustine in his *De civ. Dei*.[64]Augustine's interpretation of Gen. 1.1, in which he takes the creation of the angels to be understood in *caelum*, implies that he did not adhere to the belief that the angels (or anything else) were created before heaven and earth, and as we have seen, the *Genesis A* poet does not appear to be following the Augustinian tradition in this regard (see the passage quoted above, p. 28). That is not to say that there is no precedent for the notion that the angels were created before the physical and visible world. Basil,[65] Gregory of Nazianzus,[66] Ambrose,[67] and Cassian[68] all adhered to this view. Cassian,

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64 "[Deus] qui de mortali progenie merito iusteque damnata tantum populum gratia sua colligit, ut inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsa est angelorum, ac sic illa dilecta et superna civitas non fraudetur suorum numero civium, quin etiam fortassis et uberiore laetetur." 22.1 *CCSL* 48, 807, 52 ff.

65 *Hexaemeron* 1.5. PG 29, 13.

66 *Orat.* 38.9.10. PG 36, 320 ff.

67 *Hexaemeron* 1.5.19. CSEL 32, 1, 15, 23 ff.

68 *Collations* 8.7, CSEL 13, 222, 21 ff.

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in fact, regarded it as *communis opinio*.[69] Yet while all of these authors were following Origen on this point, the majority of the church fathers seems to have rejected his opinion that the fall of the rebel angels was the immediate cause of the creation of the physical world.[70]

At most we are justified in positing that the *Genisis A* reconstruction of the early events of creation stand in the Origenist tradition. It would probably be going too far to suggest that any of Origen's writings could have been a direct source for the motif in the Old English poem, given the prevailing scholarly opinion that the Anglo-Saxons had little Greek, not to mention the fact that much of Origen's work was declared heretical and destroyed; much of what survives is found in Latin translations. Either it came to the *Genesis A* poet via one or a series of lost intermediaries, or the poet devised it himself. Whatever the case, it is a feature that certainly sets *Genesis A* apart from other texts in the Old English and Anglo-Latin tradition.[71]

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[69] See Lohse, p. 286.

[70] Lohse, pp. 284-85.

[71] There is the slight but highly conjectural chance that a Greek text (or Latin translation) of Origen was available in tenth-century England. The connection of Junius 11 to Winchester will be discussed below, but one of Michael Lapidge's conclusions ("The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature," *ASE* 4, 1975, 67-112), is relevant: "But one gets the impression that source-books of such vocabulary [i.e. Grecisms], and possibly even texts in Greek, that are unknown to us, may have been available to tenth-century English authors. No accurate statement on this subject can be made until the many glossaries and *glossae collectae* which survive in English manuscripts have been printed" (p. 101).

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II.

The texts which I wish to compare with *Genesis A* are not "sources" for the poem in the sense that this term is generally used in literary scholarship, and indeed it is possible that the poet was not following a specific source at all. But the Anglo-Latin texts in question are significant analogues, they are possibly contemporaneous with the poem, and they provide a consecutive narrative of the fall of the rebel angels that does parallel the portion of*Genesis A* we are concerned with in many respects. At the very least they represent options that were presumably open to the Anglo-Saxon poets. The two texts in question are Anglo-Latin charters of the middle to late tenth century, i.e. "King Edgar's Privilege to New Minster,Winchester" (BL MS Cotton Vesp. A. viii, fols. 2v-33v), and a Burton Abbey charter contained in the Peniarth Cartulary (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Peniarth MS 390).

But before I quote and discuss the points of similarity between these three texts, it is appropriate to discuss briefly "Edgars Privilege for New Minster"–by far the fullest and more important of the charters–since it is itself an anomalous document in many respects. One might begin by noting that if a historian of modern American literature was looking for extended narrative accounts of the fall of the angels he would probably not look for such material in a legal document of any kind–even one which recorded a gift of land to a religious institution. But Anglo-Saxon charters are literary documents to the extent that certain steps in argumentation provide the opportunity for the "author" of the charter, the person responsible for its verbal form, to develop and elaborate such literary topoi as the

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transitoriness of the world, the power of God to order history, the generosity of God which was made manifest in creation, and so on. Some Anglo-Saxon charters, particularly the later ones, elaborate these topics at some length and are thus of some interest to literary historians. But "King Edgar's Privilege for New Minster, Winchester," goes beyond the normal limits of a charter in what Dorothy Whitelock and her co-editors call its "enormous length';[72] it includes an account of the creation and fall of the angels, the creation of man, the felicity of Adam, and the preaching and passion of Jesus before the author turns to the specific occasion of this particular charter–the decision of King Edgar to found a monastery at New Minster. Since the text is not well known, I will quote and translate the paragraphs of it which seem directly pertinent to *Genesis A*. I propose to translate it literally "sentence" by "sentence," following the edition of Whitelock, Brett and Brook:

EADGAR REX HOC PRIVILEGIUM NOVO EDIDIT MONASTERIO AC OMNIPOTENTI DOMINO EIUSQUE GENETRICI MARIÆ EIUS LAUDANS MAGNALIA CONCESSIT.

Omnipotens totius machinae conditor ineffabili pietate universa mirifice moderatur que condidit.

Qui coaeterno videlicet verbo quaedam ex nichilo edidit. quaedam ex informi subtilis artifex propagavit materia.

Angelica quippe creatura ut informis materia. nullis rebus existentibus divinitus formata. luculento resplenduit vultu.

Male pro dolor libero utens arbitrio. contumaci arrogans fastu. creatori universitatis famulari dedignans. semetipsum creatori equiperans aeternis baratri incendiis cum suis complicibus demersus iugi [iugiter?] merito cruciatur miseria.

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[72] *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church* ed. Dorothy Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) I, p. 119.

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Hoc itaque themate totius sceleris peccatum exorsum est.

QUARE HOMINEM CONDIDIT ET QUID EI COMMISIT.

I. Evacuata namque polorum sede. et eliminata tumidi fastus spurcitia. summus totius bonitatis arbiter lucidas celorum sedes non sine cultore passus torpore. formatis ex informi materia diversarum rerum speciebus. hominem tandem ex limo conditum. vite spiraculo ad sui formavit similitudinem.

Cui universa totius cosmi superficie condita subiciens. seipsum suosque posteros sibi subiecit. quatenus eius exsecutura posteritas angelorum suppleret numerum celorum sedibus superbia turgente detrusum.[73]

QUALITER IN PARIDISO SINE CRIMENE CONVERSATUS EST. [...]

King Edgar grants this Privilege to New Minster and to Almighty God and His Mother Mary and praising His great works grants [it].

The omnipotent founder of all the fabric with ineffable pity measures all things marvelously which he has founded. He brought forth certain things by the Coeternal Word from nothing; certain things the subtle artificer extended from inform matter.

Indeed angelic creation like inform matter, [when] no things [were] existing, [was] formed by the divine, [and] gleamed with splendid countenance.

Evilly, alas, using [his] free will, being proud with contumacious arrogance, disdaining to serve the Creator of the

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[73] *Councils and Synods,* I, 121 (no. 31). This text is edited as no. 1190 in *Cartularium Saxonicum,* ed. W. de G. Birch (London, 1885-93). The opening frontispiece is a very well-known Anglo-Saxon illumination which has frequently been reproduced. For discussion and argument that this ms. is not a real charter at all see Francis Wormald, "Late Anglo-Saxon Art: Some Questions and Suggestions," in *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art,* ed. Millard Meiss *et al.* Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) I, 19-26.

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universe, making himself equal to the Creator, [Satan was] cast down with his accomplices into the abyss in eternal flames--he is tormented with eternal suffering.

At this pattern of all crime sin sprang up.

Why He founded man and what he entrusted to him

The throne of the heavens being emptied and the filth of torrid arrogance being eliminated, the highest arbiter of all goodness, having not suffered the gleaming thrones of the heavens in idleness without a user, having formed the divine species of things from inform matter, having established man from clay, formed him to his likeness with the spiration of life. Subjecting all things created on the face of the entire cosmos to him, He subjected him himself and his descendents to Him, in order that his posterity, which was to follow, should complete the number of the heavenly angels thrust down from their thrones by swelling pride.

In what wise he lived in paradise without crime. [...]

The second document, an Anglo-Latin diploma preserved in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Peniarth MS 390 (=Peniarth Cartulary), is a grant of lands by Æthelred II (Unræd) to his *scriptor*, Ælfwine. Like "Edgar's Privilege," it was written at Winchester in the second half of the tenth century (ca. 987). The relevant portion of the proem of this charter is as follows:

Regnante d*omi*no n*ost*ro Ihesu Chr*isto* imp*er*petuu*m*. Qui ante mu*n*di co*n*stitu*cion*em decem ang*e*lor*um* agmina mirifice collocauit. decemaq*ue* post p*er* sup*er*biam cu*m* suo lucifero in barathrum boraginis elapsis, nouem in sua stabilitate misericorditer co*n*seruauit. quique decimam adimplere cupiens postquam celum terramque conderet. ho*min*em ex limo terre formauit. formatu*m*q*ue* p*ro*thoplastum serpentin*us* liuor ad mortem usq*ue* p*er*duxit.

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omneque humanum genus post illum. Et quando dei inmensa misericordia hoc perspexit. condoluit, unicumque filium suum mittens satum de intemerata uirgine Maria per crucis mortem omne humanum genus piissime redemit.[74]

By our Lord Jesus Christ, perpetually ruling. He before the creation of the world wondrously established ten multitudes of angels and when the tenth [order] had afterwards fallen through pride from the north into hell with Lucifer, He mercifully conserved nine [orders] in their stability. And desiring to replenish the tenth order, He aftwerwards created heaven and earth, [and] he formed man from the slime of the earth. And serpentine envy brought the first created man unto death, and the entire human race after him. But when God in His boundless mercy perceived this, He sympathized, and sending His only son, begotten of the inviolate Virgin Mary, He righteously redeemed the entire human race through death on the cross.

The points of agreement between the narrative of the fall of the angels in *Genesis A*, "Edgar's Privilege" (EP), and the Peniarth diploma (PD) may be enumerated as follows.

1. In the beginning God created a purely spiritual realm in which angelic intelligence worshipped and rejoiced in felicity. (*Genesis A*, 1-20; EP, 5-6; PD, 1-2.)
2. Then one angel, motivated by pride, rebelled against God; he disdainedto serve God and wished to make himself equal with God. (*Genesis A*,22-27A; EP, 7-10; PD mentions pride as cause of fall, 3-4.).
3. God was moved to anger and expelled this angel and his fellow-rebels from the joy of heaven into the torment of hell. (*Genesis A*, 34-77; EP, 9-10; PD, 3.)

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[74] The text is taken from C.R. Hart, ed. *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*. Vol. 6. Studies in Early English History. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975, p. 187.

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4. Then peace existed again in the realm of heaven. (*Genesis A*, 78-86A; implicit in EP, 12-16; PD, 4-5.)
5. Then God, noting that thrones in heaven were empty, determined to fill them. He therefore created heaven and earth and man, whose purpose was to increase and multiply until the number of fallen angels was complete. (*Genesis A*, 86B ff.; EP, 12-20; PD, 5-6.)
6. Man--Adam and Eve--lived in felicity for a time, but Satan envied them since they were heirs to "his" possessions in the heavens. (*Genesis A*, 185-233; EP, 50-61; PD, 7-8.)

What sets *Genesis A*, "Edgar's Privilege," and the Peniarth Diploma apart from other Anglo-Latin and Old English accounts of the fall are not so much specific points of detail (although there are some common details), but rather a shared cosmographical perspective. An account of creation is not simply an exercise in theological learning; it is also implicitly an account of the human condition. And it is from this broader perspective that these accounts parallel each other in significant ways. To begin with, all three of these accounts divide creation into two specific aspects, spiritual and physical, and in all three spiritual reality is given precedence both in time and in innate dignity. First God created a purely spiritual realm in which He and the angels lived in serene joy. This realm is the kingdom of light and God's own kingdom, and this is the realm which is the ultimate goal of the elect. But neither the elect nor any other aspect of physical reality would have existed had Satan not fallen. In *Genesis A* and the two charters creation, or at least the creation of heaven and earth, is the direct consequence of the fall of Lucifer. God created the world so that men might live there who could eventually become worthy to inherit the places in heaven vacated by the fallen angels.

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This is following to its extreme a line of thought developed by Augustine, i.e. the "Replacement Doctrine." Augustine did not always hold to the view that the fallen angels would be replaced by man. He says nothing about it in his *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, nor does he mention it in his *De Genesi ad Litteram*. It is only in the *De Civitate Dei* that Augustine formulates the idea for the first time.[75] Gregory the Great's comments on the parable of the ten drachmas (Luke 15:8 ff) also imply that man was created to fill the place which the fallen angels had lost.[76] This essentially pessimistic vision of the human condition (man was created solely to remedy a fault in the primal order) was widely current in the early Middle Ages, and it continued to be current in popular religious literature throughout the Middle Ages–though by the twelfth century serious scholastic theologians quickly dismissed it as untenable.[77] In scholastic thought man has a unique and particular role–man joins together the physical world which God created good with the spiritual one. If God had wanted to supplement the angelic host he would simply have created more angels. But according to the *Genesis A* poet and the authors of "Edgar's

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[75] 22.1: "It is He who with very just punishment doomed the angels who voluntarily fell to everlasting misery, and rewarded those who continued in their stability as the meed of their fidelity. It is He who made also man himself upright, with the same freedom of will–an earthly animal, indeed, but fit for heaven if he remained faithful to his Creator, but destined to the misery appropriate to such a nature if he forsook Him. It is He who, when He foreknew that man would would in his turn sin by abandoning God and breaking His law, did not deprive him of the power of free-will, because He at the same time foresaw what good He Himself would bring out of the evil, and how from this mortal race, deservedly and justly condemned, He would by His grace collect, as now He does, a people so numerous, that He thus fills up and repairs the blank made by the fallen angels, and that thus that beloved and heavenly city is not defrauded of the full number of its citizens, but perhaps may even rejoice in a still more overflowing population." Trans. Dodds, p. 810. A similar idea is to be found in Augustine's *Enchiridion* 9.29.

[76] *Homiliae in Evangelium* II, 34, PL 76, 1249 ff.

[77] For discussion of these ideas in the context of later theological development see M.-D. Chenu O. P., "Cur Homo? Le Sous-Sol d'une controverse," in *La Theologie au Douzième Siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1966) pp. 52-61.

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Privilege" and the Peniarth Diploma, it is not simply man who was created to fill the void occasioned by the primal lapse of the rebel angels, but the whole of physical creation which was called into being for this purpose. Whether the authors of these texts were aware of the full theological and philosophical implications of their narrative is hard to determine. What is clear is that all three texts correspond in this respect and that this understanding of the process of creation is not, as far as I am aware, paralleled elsewhere in Old English or Anglo-Latin literature. The sequence of events in a Creation myth is important, and this sequence of the process of Creation is distinctive. P. E. Dustoor in his survey "Legends of Lucifer in Early English and Milton, remarks that "of all the writings discussed in this section, *Par[adise] Lost* and the so-called Caedmonian *Genesis* alone conceived the entire creation of our World as subsequent to the fall of the disobedient Angels.[78] "Edgar's Privilege" and the Peniarth Diploma can be added to this grouping, and all three of these texts are quite different from *Paradise Lost*, in that Milton is careful to avoid the suggestion that God's plan to create heaven and earth was in some sense contingent upon Lucifer's rebellion.

Given the brevity of the narrative in the Peniarth Diploma proem, it makes sense to concentrate at this point on the parallels between the two fuller texts. One point of similarity between *Genesis A* and "Edgar's Privilege" is that both texts emphasize the peace which was restored in heaven after the fall of the rebellious angels and before the creation of the material universe. This moment in the history of the cosmos could be inferred from the dogmatic affirmation that at some early point in history

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[78] P. E. Dustoor, "Legends of Lucifer in Early English and in Milton," *Anglia*, 54 (1930) 211-67.

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Lucifer and his followers fell, while other faithful angels did not; but both the author of "Edgar's Privilege" and the *Genesis A* poet specifically focus on this moment in order to affirm the transcendent power of God.

This parallel is followed by another which is close enough to imply some kind of direct or indirect textual relationship, although of course the possibility of fortuitous parallelism in highly traditional material of this kind cannot be ruled out. In both *Genesis A* and "Edgar's Privilege," God is moved by the fact that the thrones which the fallen angels once occupied were empty–the "lucidas celorum sedes" were "sine culture" and the "setl, wuldorspedum welig" were "wide, buendra leas"–he therefore determined to create a new heaven and earth. The crucial terms here–"sede/setl," and "cultor/buend"–parallel each other exactly.

The creation of heaven and earth proper in both texts is heavily dependent on the Bible, so that further parallels between *Genesis A* and "Edgar's Privilege" are difficult to establish, but it is noteworthy that *Genesis A* and "Edgar's Privilege" both emphasize the prelapsarian felicity of Adam beyond the somewhat spare language of the Old Testament.

These parallels suffice, in my judgment, to establish these narrative clauses in "Edgar's Privilege" as a striking analogue for this portion of *Genesis A*, but it is not possible to establish any more specific relationship between the two texts. While the parallels mentioned thus far exist, each of the texts exhibits individual particularities which sets it apart from the other. It is difficult to make convincing stylistic comparisons between Anglo-Latin prose and Old English verse, but *Genesis A* seems relatively straightforward "classical" Old English poetry in which the poet deploys the traditional West Germanic heroic diction in describing a theme which could easily be appropriated to native heroic poetry. An overbearing thegn

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revolts against his rightful lord and is convincingly defeated by the true king. There are difficulties in these lines, but they arise from problems of textual transmission or our own limited knowledge of Old English language and poetic idiom. The poet does not seem to be attempting special stylistic effects. By contrast "Edgar's Privilege" is a monument of manneristic Latin in which the author is obviously attempting to achieve certain stylistic effects by using a specialized "difficult" vocabulary to narrate events which could be told much more simply.

The "iconography" of the fall of the angels in *Genesis A* reflects as well some rather idiosyncratic features. God's power as He exhibits it in expelling the rebel archangels is defined in a series of images involving God's "hands." The expectations of the rebel angels failed after God raised up his hands (line 50A). And in fighting against the fallen angels, God "grasped angrily, with hostile hands and broke them in His embrace" (61A-62). These images are not paralleled in the "Edgar Privilege" or elsewhere in Old English, and their source and traditional significance has yet to be convincingly elucidated. The *manus Dei* as an emblem of the presence and power of God is a prominent feature of early medieval art, and it is at least conceivable that the Old English poet was influenced by this emblem. Perhaps a more likely verbal influence is to be found in Paul's phrase, *horrendum est incidere in manus dei viventis* ("It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God" [Hebrews 10:31]). This image appears–in homilies by Eusebius of Gaul, Caesarius of Arles and Gregory the Great–in conjunction with a reference to Satan and his fallen angels in a context describing the fate of the damned at the Final Judgment.[79] Our poet may

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[79] See Eusebius "Gallicanus" *Collectio homiliarum,* CCSL 101, p. 70; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti,* CCSL 104, p. 684.

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have been familiar with one of these homilies; if so, his use of the imagery here has powerful eschatological resonances which he has skilfully brought to bear on the earliest "judgment" of all: the damnation of the first sinner.[80] Alternatively the *Genesis A* poet may simply have recognized the aptness of Paul's phrase for the event he was describing: Lucifer's ejection from heaven illustrates quite graphically why one who goes against God's will should fear "falling into the hands of the living God." In the context of the present argument, the point is simply that this is an idiosyncratic aspect of the depiction of the fall of the angels in *Genesis A* which is not paralleled in the Anglo-Latin analogue which I have cited.

If the relationship of the account of the fall of the angels in *Genesis A* and the "Edgar Privilege" is not a direct one (and it seems to me probable that neither text was a specific source for the other), then a reasonable question is "What is the relationship of the two texts, and why do they exhibit the similarities that they do?" Part of the answer to this question can be found by considering the literary context (insofar as we understand it) of each text. The date and place at which *Genesis A* (or to be more precise, the particular portion of *Genesis A* with which I have been concerned) was composed is very much a matter of dispute. After reexamining the linguistic evidence, the most recent editor of the poem remarks that "there is nothing which puts a precise date on the original composition of *Genesis A*."[81] Doane discusses the arguments for dating this poem and considers the problem of when *Genesis B* was interpolated, but while he is cautiously sympathetic with those who would date the poem

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[80] Cf. the inverse use of this imagery in the description in *Christ and Satan* of the Devil reaching up with his hands to pull down similarly doomed sinners (below, Chapter 2, p. 95).

[81] Doane, p. 36.

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earlier rather than later, he does not attempt to settle the argument. Two recent studies by R.D. Fulk have reassessed the value of linguistic tests for dating Old English poetry.[82] In both cases Fulk concludes that the linguistic evidence strongly supports the presumed chronology of Old English verse, thus placing *Genesis A* in the eighth century. But what is true for the bulk of *Genesis A* need not necessarily hold true for the first one hundred lines or so that have been the focus of this discussion.[83] Moreover, the final word has probably not been said concerning the efficacy of linguistic dating.

If we cannot date the poem, we can, however, arrive at some conclusions about the poet's attitude towards his sources; and it is clear that the *Genesis A* poet was genuinely concerned about the historical dimension of his narrative. Unlike the *Judith*-poet, who re-imagines the Biblical narrative of Judith and Holofernes in a specifically Germanic mode, or the *Genesis B* poet, who is quite free in his treatment of Biblical history, the *Genesis A* poet follows the text of the Bible relatively closely. It may be presumed, therefore, more likely than not that his account of the opening scenes of creation followed some authorized text. He could, of course, have based his account of these scenes on his own general knowledge of the story

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[82] Fulk, R. D. "West Germanic Parasiting, Sievers' Law, and the Dating of Old English Verse." *Studies in Philology* 86 (1989): 117-38; and "Contraction as a Criterion for Dating Old English Verse." *JEGP* 89 (1990): 1-16.

[83] Alternatively, of course, we may consider the possibility that the *exordium* and the rest of *Genesis A* were not by the same author. The mere presence of the interpolated *Genesis B* forms an obvious precedent for this. In that case, the early dating of the bulk of *Genesis A* advocated by many (and supported by R.D. Fulk's linguistic analysis) remains intact. The *exordium* is sufficiently "different" from the remaining portion of *Genesis A* both in contents, form, and method to allow for this theory, and the distinctive form of the motif, with its apparent ties to a specific date and place in Anglo-Saxon England, together point towards the possibility that it was composed for the *Genesis A* compilation at approximately the same time and place. For the noticeable linguistic differences between Part I of Genesis A and Part III, see Doane 1978, pp. 35-36.

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of the fall of the angels; but the narrative he tells is firmly based on tradition in many respects and his whole method of composing poetic history in the remainder of the poem is to follow, verse by verse, a specific source. This particular poet is likely to have sought for some specific source of creation history and to have used that text as the basis of his narrative up to the point at which he could simply follow the Biblical text. Even if the poem and its *exordium* are in the end found to be of such early composition, it is worth exploring still further the possible relations between these verses and "Edgar's Privilege." We may be able to make more headway if we consider the date and provenance of the manuscript, Junius 11, rather than its contents alone.

Like *Genesis A*, the dating and placing of the Junius 11 manuscript is surrounded by controversy, and upon assessing the various arguments put forth on the matter one must conclude that there is no real consensus on when and where it was made. The date of the codex has been variously and flexibly "fixed." In his edition of *Genesis A*, Doane first cites Keller, who posits a date in "the last decades of the tenth century" on paleographical grounds,[84] and then Ker, who puts it in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[85] Because Wormald concluded that the drawings must date from the second quarter of the eleventh century,[86] and because Raw argues that the folios containing *Christ and Satan* (the "Liber II" of scribal attribution, the hands of which appear to be somewhat later than the rest of the manuscript) were added shortly after the production of the bulk of the

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84 Keller, Wolfgang. *Angelsächsische Palaeographie.* Vol. 43. Palaestra, Berlin: Mayer & Muller, 1906, p. 39.
85 Ker, N.R. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon.* Oxford: Oxford, 1957, p. 408.
86 Francis Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.* London: Faber and Faber, 1952, p. 41.

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manuscript, Doane is forced to conclude that the manuscript was produced ca. 1025, and that the "handwriting is old-fashioned or provincial." By 1991, when Doane's edition of the Saxon Genesis and *Genesis B* was published, this less than obvious conclusion had become certainty: "On the basis of the handwriting and the style of the illustrations, I have dated the production of the manuscript to about 1025," writes Doane.[87] But the dating of the drawings has problems and uncertainties of its own, and we may as easily surmise that the illustrators of the manuscript imbued their drawings with "an artificial antiquity" (Wormald's words), as that the scribe's hand was an old-fashioned one.[88] A more likely date for the

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87 Doane, 1991, p. 29.

88 Wormald's attribution of the drawings to the eleventh century is based on T.D. Kendrick's identification of Scandinavian elements in early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon art. Kendrick's assessment of the Viking influence on Anglo-Saxon art strikes one as highly impressionistic. He dates Junius 11 to the period 1030-1050 without regard to the paleography of the text, and offers no explicit reasons–or authority–for this dating. A reassessment of his views seems long overdue. Be that as it may, Wormald leaves room for dissent, though till now no one seems to have had reason to doubt his view. In his 1945 article he says the following about the decorated initials in Junius 11: "The initials in the Cædmon MS. are peculiar, because although the MS. seems to be late [on what grounds, he does not say] the dragons and even the acanthus ornament have an artificial antiquity about them and look as if they are later copies of initials belonging to a type quite close to the Helmingham Orosius" (p. 121). Wormald dates the Helmingham Orosius rather confidently to the third quarter of the tenth century. He further admits that the styles of both illustrators of Junius 11 show signs of early-tenth and late-tenth century derivation, respectively. This jibes in fact with Ohlgren's dating of the transmission and translation of the interpolated Old Saxon *Genesis*. He assembles an impressive body of evidence for placing these events during the monastic revival of the tenth century (pp. 57-62). There is little if any hard evidence to dissuade one from assuming that the manuscript itself could have been produced shortly after these events, i.e. somewhere in the last quarter of the tenth century. Raw concludes her article with a potentially important speculation: "The volume [i.e. the Saxon manuscript containing the exemplar of Junius 11] may also have contained a copy of the *Heliand*. An extract from the *Heliand* is found in the ninth-century Mainz manuscript which contains the fragments of the Old Saxon *Genesis* and a manuscript of the *Heliand* is known to have come to England, where a transcript was made towards the end of the tenth century. The initials in this tenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. vii, are very close to those in Junius 11, though there are no illustrations, nor is there any evidence that the poem was ever translated into Old English" (p. 148). The obvious question that arises here is that if the initials of this late tenth-century manuscript are so close in form to those in Junius 11 (which are supposed to show such datable "Viking" traits), why is it not also dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century? Wormald accepts the paleographical dating of the *Heliand* codex to the second half of the

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production of the manuscript based on paleographical grounds would be somewhere in the range of 970 x 1000, and it is this range that I should like to adopt for the purpose of this discussion.

The provenance of the manuscript has also never been agreed upon to the satisfaction of all.[89] Most have assumed it was a product of Christ Church, Canterbury, though, as Doane says, "not on much evidence." Raw's reasoning on this issue is certainly faulty, for the one scrap of evidence that might connect this manuscript with that center–the appearance on p. ii of a fourteenth-century cataloguer's title "Genesis in anglico," and a similar reference in a Christ Church, Canterbury booklist, "Genesis Anglice depicta"– is more likely to be associated with a lost copy of the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, BL MS Cotton Claudius B. iv.[90] Lucas's argument for a Malmesbury Abbey provenance is based on evidence that is even more circumstantial.[91] Sir Israel Gollancz placed the manuscript at Winchester, basing his theory on the identification of the Ælfwine in the miniature portrait (on p. 2) with the Ælfwine who was

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tenth century (1945, p. 120, and n. 2), why not do the same with Junius 11? It seems the presence of the Scandinavian features is what confuses the issue, especially the Ringerijke designs on pp. 225 and 230. This Viking influence does not seem to extend beyond the presence of these designs, which themselves may have been by a different, though similar hand, and added later to the manuscript as we now have it. It should be noted, however, that Viking influence is not restricted to the early eleventh century, and that any reputed influence of this kind does not seem to have affected other illustrations dated firmly in or after the reign of Cnut (such as the famous line drawings of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster Abbey, Winchester, MS Stowe 944). This is obviously a complicated matter, and one can only hope to make any sense of it by consulting the manuscript itself.

[89] For full surveys of the past and present opinions on this matter, see Herbert Broderick, "The Iconographic and Compositional Sources of the Drawings in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11." PhD, Columbia University, 1978, p. 44ff; and Broderick, "Observations on the Method of Illustration in MS Junius 11 and the Relationship of the Drawings to the Text." *Scriptorium* 37 (1983): 161-77, especially pp. 161-2, note 4.

[90] Barbara Raw, "The Probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis." *ASE* 5 (1976), p. 133.

[91] Peter J. Lucas, "MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury." *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 197-220; and "MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury (II)." *Scriptorium* 35 (1981): 3-22.

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abbot of Newminster, Winchester in 1035.[92] As Doane points out, his dates seem altogether too late for a patron of an early eleventh-century manuscript, and even more so for one produced in the later decades of the tenth century, as we are assuming here.[93] Moreover, Raw raises the objection that the portrait depicts not a monk, but a layman, as indeed the lack of tonsure and shape of the figure's garments seem to bear out.[94] I dismiss as highly speculative and untenable Doane's own theory that some of the the drawings bear close enough resemblance to those of Cotton Claudius B iv. as to render likely a provenance of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[95] Finally, for reasons that will become obvious below, I find Thomas Ohlgren's attribution of the manuscript to New Minster, Winchester most convincing and congenial.[96] While my argument may in the end prove just as tentative as any proposed thus far, I should nevertheless like to consider the issue of dating and placing the Junius

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92 Sir Israel. Gollancz, *The Caedmon ms of A-S Biblical Poetry: Junius XI: in the Bodleian Library*. London: 1927, p.xxxvii.

93 Doane 1978, p. 19.

94 Raw, p. 135.

95 Doane 1978, pp. 23-24. He "supports" his claim with more negative evidence, i.e. that the illustrations have little in common with other Winchester manuscripts. But both Ohlgren and Raw have demonstrated that at least some of the drawings had as their model illustrations in a Saxon exemplar, so their "deviance" should hardly surprise us. Doane also cites David Knowles' *The monastic Order in England* to support his claim that St. Augustine's could have been in touch with Fleury (the likely "source" of the Saxon exemplar). St. Augustine's, says Doane, "was probably always monastic." He refers to pp. 34-35, where Knowles says nothing of the kind: "Indeed, the only important monastery of which we have no information is St Augustine's, Canterbury. It is known to have existed as a corporate body at the time, and to have received a gift from Athelstan on the very day of his coronation; how far it was monastic cannot be said, but there, and there alone, is it possible that some form of the regular life still persisted" (pp. 34-35). I fail to see how one may take such a tentative conclusion to mean that this house "was probably always monastic."

96 Thomas H. Ohlgren, "Some New Light on the Old English Caedmonian Genesis." *Studies in Iconography* 1 (1975): 38-69. See especially his conclusions on pp. 64-65. He argues that the Old Saxon exemplar used for the illustrations and the interpolated text of *Genesis B* was most likely to have come to England from Fleury, which had early connections with Winchester.

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manuscript in light of the distinctive motif of Lucifer's fall in *Genesis A* and the two royal charters I have identified above. I believe that Ohlgren's Winchester provenance and the late tenth-century date suggested by the manuscript's paleography may be supported by my findings, and while my conclusions may not be irrefutable, the evidence upon which they are based is both new and no more circumstantial than any adduced thusfar. The points concerning Junius 11 to keep in mind as we consider the contexts of "Edgar's Privilege" and the Peniarth Diploma are the following: 1) the distinctive Creation motif which makes the creation of the physical world contingent upon Lucifer's fall; 2) the possible late tenth-century date and Winchester provenance of Junius 11; and 3) the portrait of a layman named "Ælfwine" on page 2 of the "Cædmon" codex.

If the date and location of "Edgar's Privilege" are well known, it has not been studied from a literary-historical perspective. It has been edited several times but never translated, and the editors provide little by way of commentary or annotation. "Edgar's Privilege for New Minster" has actually received more attention as a monument of Anglo-Saxon art than as a text, but as anyone who glances at its Latin can observe, it is a quite difficult text in some ways.[97] As for its authorship, Dorothy Whitelock

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[97] See Michael Lapidge, "The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature." *ASE* 4 (1975): 67-111; at 85 ff. Lapidge uses the occurence of a number of grecisms in "Edgar's Privilege" to suggest that Æthelwold was the author of an Anglo-Latin letter to Arnulf, Count of Flanders (p. 88). The strongest indication of this is the occurrence of the word *policrates* ('very mighty') in both documents. Lapidge notes that this word does not appear in any glossaries, and thought it unique to the letter and Edgar's foundation charter. In fact, it occurs in another Winchester charter, *BCS* 1142: "* Ego Dunstan Dorobornensis ecclesie policrates crucis taumate consolidavi." This does not, of course, disprove Lapidge's theory, for Æthelwold studied with Dunstan, and he witnessed this charter as well. The important point in Lapidge's argument is that the word appears exclusively in a Winchester context, with associations with Æthelwold.

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follows Francis Wormald in attributing the text of this unusual document to Bishop Æthelwold. Æthelwold's attestation suggests this:

> *Ego Aðelwold aeclesiae UUintoniensis episcopus regis gloriosisimi benivolentiam abbatem mea altum mediocritate et alumnos quos educavi illi commendans crucis signaculo benedixi.*
> (I, Æthelwold, Bishop of the church of Winchester, by my modest self have blessed with the sign of the cross the splendid munificence of the most illustrious king, the father abbot, and the monks whom I have taught, commending them to him.)[98]

Whitelock adduces further linguistic evidence to support this attribution, as does Michael Lapidge in a recent article.[99] The provenance of this manuscript (BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A.VIII) has, given its context and purpose, always been assumed to be Winchester, and there is certainly no reason to doubt this. The frontispiece immediately preceding the charter proper is a famous and lavishly illuminated one, reproductions of which abound in modern studies of Anglo-Saxon artwork.[100] The actual privilege has been produced on an equally lavish scale, with the Carolingian minuscule script having been executed in gold letters. "Nothing has been spared," writes Whitelock, "to make it a magnificent object for display, presumably on the altar."[101] As far as the date is concerned, the portion of

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98 Text from Whitelock et al 1981, p. 120; translation from Wormald 1963, p. 25.
99 Whitelock et al, p. 120 n.4; Michael Lapidge, "The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature." *ASE* 4 (1975): 67-111; at 88 ff.
100 See any one of the following for a reproduction of this frontispiece: James Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982, fig. 164; Dodwell, C. R. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982, pl. E; Temple, Elzbieta. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*. Vol. 2. ed. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. London: Harvey Miller, 1976, ill. 84; Backhouse, Janet, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster, ed. *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*. London: British Museum Publications, 1984.
101 Whitelock et al, p. 119.

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the manuscript containing the Privilege (fols. 1-33) must certainly have been made in the period 966 x 984. 966 is the *terminus a quo*, the date given on folio 30 of the charter itself, while the *terminus ad quem* must be 984, the year of Æthelwold's death. Whitelock expresses some caution against taking the charter's date at face value:

> It is likely that New Minster received a privilege in 966, but one cannot be certain that the present document is not an expansion of a text of a more normal type made perhaps some time later, but at any rate before Bishop Æthelwold's death in 984.[102]

The date and provenance of the Peniarth Diploma, which as we have seen also contains the distinctive version of Lucifer's fall, is equally certain. C.R. Hart finds little room for doubt concerning its status as a Winchester product.[103] Several features conspire to corroborate the 984 date given on the charter itself, and the surviving portion of the witness list allows us to pinpoint the date with unusual accuracy: after August 1 (death of Æthelwold) but before 28 October, when Ælfheah was enthroned at Winchester.[104] Of particular interest to us here are two notable features. First, this diploma is unique in that it constitutes the only reference to a *scriptor* in an Anglo-Saxon document of this type: the recipient of this land grant was one Ælfwine, Æthelred's *scriptor* and *minister*. Hart's commentary on this issue is worth citing in full:

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[102] Whitelock, p. 120.
[103] Hart, p. 192.
[104] Hart, p. 189. Note here as well that the authenticity of this charter is supported by the fact that it appears in a cartulary of a house that had no claim to the land it describes. See Keynes on this in the opening section of his book.

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> This is the only reference to a *scriptor* in an Anglo-Saxon diploma. Presumably Ælfwine was a layman; his alternative title *minister* indicates that he was of thegnly rank. He could hardly have been a mere copyist; one imagines that he filled the role of a secretary at court. In this capacity, he might well have been directly concerned with drawing up royal diplomas. An almost contemporary gloss gives OE *burthe(g)n* for *cancellarius vel scrinarius.*[105]

The second feature of particular note relates to the diploma's proem, which contains our motif. Here again I cite Hart's commentary:

> The proem is unique. The fall of Lucifer seldom figures in pre-Conquest English diplomas, but it does appear in the proem of K 686, an original dated 994. This Bodmin charter enlarges on an Abingdon proem; the reference to Lucifer forms part of the elaboration, so it seems likely that it was a contemporary theme.[106]

Thus there is reason to believe that the motif of the fall of Lucifer was a "popular" theme in Winchester charters of the second half of the tenth century, and it may be more than mere coincidence that this motif happens, in both charters, to be in the distinctive form that we have identified in *Genesis A*. The direction in which the disparate bits of evidence gathered here point is the following. The two charters may be securely dated to the second half of the tenth-century, and equally securely placed at Winchester. As I have already pointed out, Ohlgren arrived at a provenance of Winchester for Junius 11 based on both internal and external evidence, and his discussion of the probable date of transmission and transcription of the Saxon*Genesis B* would support a late tenth-century dating for the

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105 Hart, p.189. On glosses and meaning of *ministri*, see Keynes, p. 146ff.
106 Hart, p. 191.

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production of the manuscript as well. The paleography of Junius 11 points to the late-tenth, early eleventh-century.

An additional connection between the context of the charters and Junius 11 is the medallion portrait of the unknown Ælfwine. Just who this might have been is probably impossible to say with any certainty, but, as Raw argues, the portrait represents in all likelihood a layman, possibly the person who commissioned the codex. Now, this would not be the first or only instance of an Anglo-Saxon layperson being the recipient of a vernacular codex dealing with Christian themes. We know that Ælfric translated large portions of the Old Testament at the request of such a patron, and it may even be the case that the other illustrated Old Testament translation extant from about the same period was commissioned for a wealthy layperson.[107] Whoever this particular Ælfwine was, he may have been the recipient of the manuscript, or, alternatively, he may have been involved in its making, though I know of no other such pictorial "signatures" of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts by the scribes or artists responsible for their production.[108] There are a number of reasons why one should exercise extreme caution in dealing with this kind of evidence, not least of which is the fact that the name "Ælfwine" is a very common Anglo-Saxon name.[109] As long as we do not lose sight of the hypothetical

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[107] See C.R. Dodwell, and Peter Clemoes eds. *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV.* Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, Copehagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974, p. 58.

[108] Though mention should be made of the appearance of the name "Ælgar" on the verso folio of the two-page illumination in BL Stowe 944 (New Minster *Liber Vitae.* See Fig. 1 in Chapter Five below). This has all the appearances of some kind of "signature," either of the abbot under whose direction the book was produced, or the scribe/artist who produced it. It is not, in any event, the name of a recipient, for the book was intended from the beginning to be placed on the altar and was certainly never meant to leave the monastery.

[109] See William George Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897, s.v. "Ælfwine."

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nature of this one bit of evidence (taken on its own), we may, I think, pursue this line of reasoning a bit further.

The attestation of an "Ælfwine *minister*" appears on a number of diplomas, including "Edgar's Privilege," where in fact two such *ministers* attested the document.[110] If we assume that one of these is the same Ælfwine who signs a great number of diplomas during the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred, we may not be too far off in assuming as well that he was the recipient of the land grant in Oxfordshire recorded in the Peniarth Diploma. Simon Keynes includes a table listing all the *ministers* who signed Æthelred's diplomas, and an Ælfwine appears there from 981 to 1007.[111] I think we are justified in concluding (together with C.R. Hart) that the *minister* or *scriptor* who received the land was no mere layperson, for the very rank of *minister* implies at the very least a thegnly rank and close proximity to the king.[112] That he was a *scriptor* as well is particularly suggestive within the context of this discussion. In summary, then, the combination of the evidence presented thus far render it at least possible that a royal *minister* named Ælfwine, who was active in the second half of the tenth-century and present at Winchester, may have been the commissioner, or, in his capacity as royal scribe, may even have been involved in the production of the Anglo-Saxon vernacular manuscript that bears his portrait and name. All of this is conjecture. But the Winchester provenance and the late-tenth-century date of the manuscipts containing the

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110 A thorough survey of diplomas attested by men named Ælfwine in this period is needed. Thus far it seems as if one such witnessed the diplomas of Eadred and Eadwig, as well as Edgar. It may be the case that the second Ælfwine on "Edgar's Privilege" was the man who appeared in Æthelred's charters, and who received the land grant. Or, it could have been the same man throughout (though the span of time–955-1007–seems a bit long).

111 Keynes, table 6.

112 See especially Keynes on the relative hierarchy of these ranks.

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motif remain suggestive of some closer connection between the manuscript containing *Genesis A*, these two charters, and the scriptorium at Winchester. If this thesis is at all reasonable, then current assumptions about the date and provenace of the Junius manuscript are in need of readjustment.

III.

The conclusion to which these inferences point is that the authors of *Genesis A* and "Edgar's Privilege" both used a common formulation of this myth as their source. This "text" could be a catachetical narrative concerning creation; it could conceivably be an elaborated liturgical text of some sort; or it could be as textually amorphous as an Anglo-Saxon preaching tradition. Whatever form this proposed source may have existed in, it presumably was an authoritative text from the point of view of the *Genesis A* poet and Bishop Æthelwold, one whose authority could be appropriated to their purposes. Both texts reflect a common Christian culture and a particular vision of creation history in which God first created a spiritual realm which was however disrupted by strife. All subsequent creation, heaven, earth and man exist as a consequence. This is of course a deeply pessimestic understanding of the process of creation. One could argue that it is at odds with both the letter and the spirit of the Biblical Creation narrative and it is certainly not a necessary consequence of patristic teachings on this topic. Yet Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester found this mode of understanding Creation a congenial one within the political context surrounding the establishment of the New Minster Abbey.

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One obvious point about the ideological content of "Edgar's Privilege" which, as far as I am aware, has never been observed, is that the elaborate peroration which includes the paragraphs cited here is directed towards an implicit definition of the purpose and ordering principles which underlie "reformed" monasticism. Man once lived pure and sinless in paradise; the renunciations and the discipline which reformed monks accept are part of a program which will recreate paradise on earth—the well-known theme of the *paradisus claustratus*[113]. Thus the account of the fall of the angels and the prelapsarian glory of Adam are immediately relevant to the foundation and ordering of the monastery. The terrestrial paradise is thus a "type" of the spiritually ordered Christian life, most fully and perfectly realized under reformed Benedictine monasticism, and the precursor of the monastery which Edgar is founding.

The establishment of this monastery is not thus a random act of generosity but the fulfillment of Christian history in England in Edgar's reign. This at least was the ideological program which motivated this elaborate foundation document. But just as the *Genesis A* poet is likely to have looked to some source to base his poetic narrative upon, Æthelwold probably looked for some authoritative model to use as the source for his elaborate Latin rhetoric. Obviously he chose to write in a quite different stylistic mode from the fundamental source of sacred history, the Vulgate, and it is reasonable to suppose that he had some source on which he based these paragraphs. This assumption would be a reasonable one even if the parallels between *Genesis A* and the Privilege did not exist—a charter is

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[113] See Jean Leclercq, *La vie parfaite* (Tournhout et Paris: Brepols, 1948) pp.164-9. For some ME examples of the theme see Thomas D. Hill, "Parody and Theme in the Middle English Land of Cokaygne," *NQ*, 22 (1972), 55-59.

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not normally the place for imagination after all—and the parallels with *Genesis A* strengthen the case for a common specific textual source of some sort.

"Edgar's Privilege," is, as Dorothy Whitelock has suggested, in every way a deluxe manuscript. Great care and expense was taken with its production; its text is fuller, and it is more lavishly illuminated than many another diploma of its kind. Wormald called it "a monument to the introduction of the Benedictines into New Minster."[114] As such it is all the more likely that Bishop Æthelwold chose his words with equal care and awareness, striving not only for the characteristic bombast and ostentation of the hermeneutic style in which he wrote, but selecting as well a version of the Creation myth that had particularly apt resonances for the political context in which the document was composed. After all, this privilege establishes New Minster as a reformed Benedictine abbey; with it King Edgar removes the "wicked and licentious" secular canons and replaces them with reformed Benedictine monks. This in itself would have sufficiently justified Æthelwold's decision to expand the customarily much briefer Anglo-Saxon diplomatic proem—usually restricted to brief praise of God's omnipotence—to include a much more elaborate account of Creation and the fall of Lucifer.[115] But his inclusion of precisely this view

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114 Wormald, "Late Anglo-Saxon Art," p. 24.

115 Michael Lapidge summarizes succinctly the structure of the tenth-century charter: "The Anglo-Latin royal charters of the tenth century preserve roughly the traditional form of English charters of the pre-Alfredian period. From a literary point of view, that form may be described as tripartite: it consists in (1) a proem or *exordium* in which God's omnipotence and the universal order is proclaimed (or some such statement); (2) the verbal disposition in which the donation is specified (in the tenth century this disposition is usually accompanied by an explanation in English of the boundary clauses); (3) the anathema, a curse on anyone who might dare to alter the terms of the charter. A list of witnesses, usually the king and the principal lay and ecclesiastical ministers of the realm, is appended" ("Hermeneutic Style," p. 99).

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of the early events of Creation is striking in many ways. The parallels between the story of Satan's rebellion, fall, and the subsequent (and consequent) creation of a physical world in which mankind can earn the reward of replacing the fallen angels in heaven, and the forcible replacement of the secular canons with reformed monks, could not, I think, be more apt. It may not be too daring to suggest that Æthelwold is hinting as well at the parallels between God's power as Lord and Disposer, and the (admittedly temporal) powers of his king, Edgar; for like God in the myth of Creation, Edgar is here exerting his power to establish a physical "space" in which mankind may have the opportunity to strive towards spiritual advancement. Unlike any of the other accounts of creation collected here, this particular presentation of these events is thus a powerfully charged one within the context of Æthelwold's political agenda.

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Chapter Two

The Devil Wanders the Paths of Exile, the Devil Bound: Satan's Ambiguous Mobility in *Christ and Satan.*

If one considers the body of early Christian and medieval narratives that deals with Satan's career, one cannot help but conclude that the Devil's range of activity as a narrative character parallels the extent of his powers as defined by Gregory the Great in his three "periods." In the large majority of such texts, it is precisely in that first Gregorian period that Satan's actions and speeches command the greatest attention of writers who dramatize or otherwise recount the events of his rebellion, fall, and subsequent temptation of man. This is true of Latin writers such as Aldhelm (*De Lucifero*) and Ambrose (*De paradiso liber unus*), and it is no less true for Anglo-Saxon poets who wrote in the vernacular. Only in *Genesis B* and *Christ and Satan*, works that treat predominantly of Satan's career in the first Gregorian period, does the Chief Devil have so much to say and do.[1] If these writers were indeed following Gregory's divisions, or had similar ones in mind, it is not difficult to see the logic in their representations of the Devil, for the first Gregorian period, we recall, is the period of Satan's greatest freedom of movement and activity.

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[1] Christ's harrowing of Hell forms the exception to this general rule, along with Satan's appearance in *Elene* (see note 4, below). But the former episode constitutes the turning point and transition to the second Gregorian period, a gray area of sorts between the two during which Christ and Satan are pitted against one another. In the large body of extra-scriptural literature composed and available during the Anglo-Saxon period, I would argue, both of these antagonists move to the background as literary characters.

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He has a rightful claim to mankind, who follow him freely, bound in sin and guilt as they are. Moreover, this power is granted to Satan by God Himself.[2]

It is in this first Gregorian period, then, that Satan enjoys his widest range of action as a narrative figure. It may indeed be the case, as Abbetmeyer argues, that the Old English poets bore Gregory's divisions in mind as they composed their poems,[3] and this may account for the fact that especially the saints' encounters with demons are almost without exception precisely that: encounters with a subordinate demon, not with Satan himself.[4] From a literal, narrative standpoint, it made sense to keep Satan

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[2] Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, Bk. II, ch. 22: "For from the time of Adam till the coming of the Lord, he drew after him all the nations of the Gentiles; he went *to and fro in the earth*, and walked *up and down in it*, in that he stamped the foot-prints of his wickedness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles. For when he fell from on high he gained lawful possession of the minds of men, because he fastened them as willing captives in the chains of his iniquity; and he wandered the more at large in the world, in proportion as there was no one found who was in all things free from that of his guilt." On the justness of Satan's actions during the first and subsequent periods, Gregory expresses a commonly held Christian belief with respect to the Devil's exercising of his powers: "17. But we must know that the will of Satan is always evil, but his power is never unjust, for his will he derives from himself, but his power he derives from God. For what he himself unrighteously desires to do, God does not allow to be done except with justice." (*Mor.* II. ch. 10) See Introduction, p. 7.

[3] Or, of course, that their sources did so.

[4] In *Juliana*, for instance, it is not Satan who appears to the saint, as Abbetmeyer (pp 30-31), Russell (Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984: p.134, n. 14) and Bradley (S.A.J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1982: p. 308 ff)–to name but a few–believe, but clearly a subordinate demon. Such interpretations can only be based on uncritical assumption and careless reading of the text, for Cynewulf makes it abundantly clear that Juliana is dealing with one of Satan's minions. To begin with, the references to this creature are given in exceedingly general terms. Nowhere is he named as Satan or even the Devil (e.g. "se deofol"); he is "hæleþa gewinna" (enemy of men), and not necessarily the enemy of men. Furthermore he ends his catalogue of evil deeds (none of which must perforce be attributed to Satan himself) by commenting on how he has performed innumerable ones with "his brothers" ("minum broþrum," l. 312). While hardly conclusive one way or the other, this at least suggests that, unless we are to see Satan as having adopted a *primus inter pares* attitude towards his fellow fallen angels, the speaker is a (lesser) member of Satan's corporate body. This is confirmed by the demon's description of what awaits him in hell (or out) if he were to fail in his mission (ll. 321 ff.). But surely the issue is resolved by lines 321-24, in which the demon speaks of the one who sends him

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in hell, and the choice to do so parallels the equal and opposite tendency (described in the Introduction, pp. 1-2) to move away from the largest, most important figures in Christian myth, whose narrative range was limited by their scriptural parameters (i.e., God the Father and God the Son). These figures were gradually, though not entirely, supplanted in imaginative narrative by their spiritual and earthly servants and representatives: the angels and saints on the one hand, evil sinners and demons on the other. Once bound, Satan may in this respect be seen to join his heavenly counterparts in the narrative background.

The literalization of the binding of the Devil, and the subsequent relegation of Satan to an at least implicitly fixed position in hell by writers of Christian narrative, has its ultimate source in Scripture and the Church Fathers who commented on the relevant passages and accepted the representation of the Harrowing as it was presented in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Thus the theme of the binding of Satan is an important one both for those who sought to define the Christian view of Satan's powers over man on earth, and for those who were called upon to cast this material in narrative form. While a fair amount has been written about Satan's

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and his brothers on their missions as "min fæder" (321) and "hellwarena cyning" (322). Similarly, in a prose anecdote that seems to have been very popular among Old English homilists, a lesser demon is captured by an anchorite and forced to reveal information concerning conditions in the afterlife. See Robinson, Fred C. "The Devil's Account of the Next World." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 362-371. An exception to the general "rule" outlined above is the Devil's appearance in the Old English *Elene*. Here it would seem Judas Cyriacus and Elene really are confronted by Satan himself, for the demon who appears to them at the raising of the True Cross (ll. 902-933) speaks of "his" following ("folgaþ") and possessions ("æhta") being stolen from him, and contrasts Christ's power on earth with his own: "Is his rice brad / ofer middangeard. Min is geswiðrod / ræd under roderum" (His realm is spread throughout middle earth. My authority here has dwindled away; 916b-18a). Obviously this appearance marked an important occasion and the dramatic effect achieved by having the Ancient Adversary himself appear to Elene far outweighed any consideration of strict, literal tradition with respect to Satan's status as bound and fettered in hell. I consider this anomalous confrontation in Chapter Four.

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speeches and character in *Genesis B*, *Christ and Satan*, and other Old English texts, particularly in relation to their thematic and doctrinal implications, much less attention has been paid to a pair of important themes that give shape to Satan's career in the first Gregorian period of his "mundane existence." The first is the old anomaly of Satan's being bound in hell as a result of his fall, yet still able to roam the world; the second is the characterization of Satan as the opposite of the Logos, as the Head of the impious, with evil men and demons under his sway being seen as the members of his corporate body, the *corpus diaboli.*

Whether or not Satan is bound, once Lucifer is cast out of heaven with his fellow rebel angels, an opposite realm is set up in hell, in Germanic, Anglo-Saxon terms, the anti-*dryht*, of which Satan is the lord, his fellow demons his thanes. While this secular Germanic imagery is very prominent in *Genesis B* and *Christ and Satan*, the more usual image in the Latin Christian tradition was that of the *corpus diaboli*, of which Satan formed the Head. This was an opposite expression of the metaphor first formulated by Paul, and developed, as we shall see, by Augustine, whereby Christ is the Head of the Church, and the Angels and all good Christians who join those ranks are seen as members of his Mystical Body.[5] This imagery is widespread in Christian literature, and there are numerous allusions to it in Old English poetry.[6] It is my intention here to discuss both

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[5] 1 Cor. 12.12-13.

[6] To repeat those cited by Clubb (Merrel Dare Clubb, *Christ and Satan.* Yale Studies in English, v. 70. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Reprint. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1972) in his gloss to *Christ and Satan* ll. 154-6: Gregory, *Hom. in Evang.* 21 (PL 76, 1172: "Si ergo membra nostri Redemptoris sumus"), the Old English *Resignation A*, 53-4 ("Ne læt þu mec næfre deofol se þeah, þin lim lædan on laðne sið") and Blickling Homily III, *Dominica Prima in Quadragesima*, Morris, p. 33 ("Cuþ is þæt awyrgda gast is heafod ealra unrihtwisra dæda, swylce unrihtwise syndon deofles leomo"). To these we would add the many references to this imagery in Gregory's *Moralia*,

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of these topoi–the anomaly of Satan's post-fall binding, and Satan as the Head of the impious, his *corpus diaboli*–with special attention to their appearance in *Christ and Satan.*

The poem now commonly referred to as *Christ and Satan*[7] is in many ways a difficult and perplexing work. The condition of its transmission compounds the problems posed by its structure and content, for the text as we have it is strewn with difficult readings, apparently corrupt passages and probable lacunae. What is more, in addition to the hands of the three scribes responsible for transcribing the poem, the hand of a fourth, contemporary scribe (referred to by editors as the Corrector) is very evident. *Christ and Satan* is preserved in just one manuscript (Bodleian Library Oxford, Junius 11) and its 728 lines occupy the final 17 pages of the manuscript.

Two issues which have traditionally presented problems for critics of *Christ and Satan* are the poem's structure and theme. At the highest structural level the poem combines a number of different genres (plaint, exemplum, and homily, among others). At other levels it has clearly

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especially its extended treatment at *Mor.* III, ch.16, in which Pilate and the priests are described as members of the Devil's Body: "Sed tamen edoctus ueritate, quis nesciat quod eiusdem satanae membra sunt omnes qui ei peruerse uiuendo iunguntur? Membrum quippe eius Pilatus exstitit qui usque ad mortis extrema, uenientem in redemptione nostra Dominum non cognouit. Corpus eius sacerdotum principes exstiterunt qui Redemptorem mundi a mundo repellere, usque ad crucem persequendo, conati sunt." Bede also used the imagery, which he borrowed from Gregory, in his *In Lucae euangelium expositio*: "Certe iniquorum omnium diabolus caput est et huius capitis membra sunt omnes iniqui." Then there is Wulfstan's homily *Secundum Marcum*, where in one version we find the line: "þæt is Gog 7 Magog, þæt beoð þa mancyn þe Alexander beclysde binnan muntclysan. Ða getacniæð all deofles limæ þæt beoð alle þa ðe deofles weorc wyrcð 7 unriht lufiæð 7 Antecristes fultumæs weorðaþ awær on weorlde." (Bethurum, p. 138, textual variant at line 66.) The list of examples could be expanded greatly.

[7] There is no authority for this title in the manuscript itself; it was first bestowed upon the work by Grein (see Charles R. Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982: p. 3).

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derived details from a variety of sources (including New Testament and apocryphal narrative), while some features have no identifiable source.[8] Because *Christ and Satan* is not the most widely read of Old English poems, it would be well to have some idea of its structure in mind at this juncture. Since the earliest critical studies of the poem it has been divided into three main structural units. Part I (ll. 1-364) comprises the plaints of the fallen angels. This is a series of laments by Satan and his followers in which the events of their rebellion and fall are recounted, the pains of hell and joys of heaven are described, and the direness of their condition in hell is emphasized. This section is punctuated by two hortatory addresses to the listener/reader that he should learn by Satan's example and avoid the fate of the devils.

Part II, encompassing lines 365-622, narrates the salient events in Christ's post-Resurrection life. Following a brief recapitulation of Satan's history, lines 379-513 recount Christ's Harrowing of hell, incorporating an impassioned address by Eve to the Saviour (408-42), and including His release of the souls of the just from hell and their translation to heaven, where Christ addresses the blessed and provides a synopsis of both the creation and fall of man, and His own career on earth. The poet then treats in rapid succession of the Resurrection, the Ascension, Pentecost, and Christ's enthronement at the right hand of God the Father. The final lines

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[8] On the putative sources for *Christ and Satan* , see Finnegan (*Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977.), Sleeth (1982: pp. 50-67), Clubb (1972: pp. xxiv-xlii), and Calder and Allen (Calder, Daniel G. and M.J.B. Allen (1976). *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Sources in Translation.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer: pp. 221-2). See also Hill ("The Measure of Hell: *Christ and Satan* 695-722." *Philological Quarterly* 60.(1981): 409-414) for a discussion of the most striking detail for which no source has yet been adduced: Satan's measuring of hell (ll. 695-722).

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of this section constitute two distinct divisions, the first deals with the Day of Judgement (ll. 597-641), while the second forms the final exhortation in the work (ll. 642-666).

Part III, the Temptation of Christ (cf. Mt. 4:3-11), is curious in that it is considerably shorter than the other two (a mere 63 lines, 667-729), and its subject matter appears out of chronological order, at least with respect to Part II, where it should logically have preceded the poet's treatment of events in Christ's post-Passion career. This has occasioned no small amount of negative commentary on the part of scholars who have studied *Christ and Satan*, leading some to posit a theory of fragmentary and almost arbitrary composition to account for the many structural disjunctions in all parts of the poem.[9] These structural problems have inevitably rendered speculation on the intended theme of the work extremely difficult, and this difficulty in making sense of the poem's unity and theme[10] is in turn to a degree responsible for the work's relative obscurity. For the present discussion, however, I should like to disregard issues of structure and theme altogether, and focus instead on the poem's language and imagery.

Its many editorial problems notwithstanding, *Christ and Satan* is a fascinating piece of poetry. For many this fascination lies in the opening movement of the poem, i.e. the section traditionally referred to as the

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[9] Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives* , represents perhaps the most extreme opinion on the presence of discrete poems joined together in the work we now call *Christ and Satan.* The confidence with which Abbetmeyer detaches blocks of lines from the text as we have it, and then labels them separate poems, is no less than amazing. He splits the first part of the poem (ll. 1-364) into three main "songs," the first of which he divides further into three poetic monologues. See p. 10 ff.

[10] Sleeth offers the most convenient and comprehensive discussion of scholars' views on unity and theme in *Christ and Satan* (*Christ and Satan* , pp. 3-26)

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"Lament of the Fallen Angels" (Part I: ll. 1-364). It will be useful for the discussion that follows to present a more detailed synopsis of Part I.

The first 33 lines form an "introduction" of sorts to the laments of Satan and his followers that comprise the bulk of this section. The poem opens with an account of the creation, in which "Meotod" (the Measurer, i.e. God) is able by his own might to create the earth with its stones and streams, the waters and the heavens; He establishes the sun and the moon in their appointed places; He is the Author of all middle earth. It is at lines 9-13 that we encounter the first indications of the poem's marked Christocentricity:

> He selfa mæg sæ geondwlitan
> grundas in heofene, *Godes agen Bearn*;
> and he ariman mæg rægnas scuran,
> dropena gehwelcne; daga enderim
> seolua he gesette þurh his soðan miht
> (9-13)[11]

Christ is here (and elsewhere) established as the main protagonist of the narrative. Though there are oblique references to the other members of the

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11 "He Himself, God's own Son, can see through the sea to the foundations of heaven, and he can reckon the rain-showers, every drop; He Himself established the final sum of days by His true power." All quotations from *Christ and Satan* are from Finnegan's edition of the poem. I do not reproduce Finnegan's length marks, brackets, etc. The italics in this and any other quotations are, of course, my own. The reader should at least be aware of the discrepancies in the text as presented by the poem's four most recent editors (Clubb, Krapp, Finnegan and Sleeth) and the consequences these differences have for interpretation and translation. In this passage, "Heaven" stands for "Creation," the foundations of which were held to be located there. For a discussion of the less-than-transparent imagery in these lines, see Hill ("Apocryphal Cosmography and the "stream uton sæ": A Note on *Christ and Satan*, lines 4-12." *Philological Quarterly* 48 [1969]: 550-4.), and Finnegan's notes to lines 4-6, 5b and 10a (*Christ and Satan* , p. 91).

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Trinity at various points in the poem, special (and at times unusual) emphasis is given to God the Son.[12]

Lines 19-33 recount the creation of men and the angels, and provide an encapsulated description of what will emerge as the main thematic concern of the remaining narrative of Part I: the folly of the apostate angels, their abasement and consequent loss of heavenly bliss. This section is comprised of a series of laments reported by a narrator, expressed in speeches delivered now by Satan himself, now by his followers, and punctuated by a pair of authorial, homiletic exhortations. Satan's first plaint recounts his fall from glory (34-50), to which his followers respond with scorn and regret (51-64). Lines 65-74 constitute a short authorial reflection on the fall. The poem's Christocentric focus is again emphasized–"Crist heo afirde" (Christ drove them out, 67)–and the cause of the fall is made explicit–"for ðam anmedlan"(for pride, 74). Next follows Satan's second lament, in which he compares his present condition in hell with his former status in heaven (75-125). Lines 126-89 comprise two further laments, in the first of which Satan dwells on the former bliss of the apostates in heaven (126-59), while in the second he utters a cry (opened by eight exclamations each beginning "Eala!") of despair, self-recrimination and recognition of his enduring guilt (160-89). This is followed by the first homiletic exhortation: let each man take care not to anger the Son of God the Creator; let Satan's fall and punishment serve as an example for us all, let us be mindful of the Lord, and seek an eternal abode in glory with the King by bearing in our hearts not pride, but

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[12] See especially Finnegan's remarks on the possible significance of this pronounced Christocentricity for dating the poem (*Christ and Satan* , pp. 60-3).

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peaceful thoughts, love and discretion, (190-224). The narrator next informs us that, "Þa get ic furþor gefregen feond ondetan" (then further I heard the fiends confess), and lines 230-79 are indeed Satan's confession, in which he again describes their former blissful state (225-46), their sin and expulsion from heaven (247-62), and the respective fates of himself and his followers: they all must lead the life of the exile, some to inhabit the air, others to roam throughout middle earth stirring up strife among men, while the Devil himself must suffer in hell, lamenting his loss of the joy and favour he once enjoyed in heaven (163-279). This lament is brought to a close in an extremely affective (and potentially unorthodox) way when Satan wonders,

> Hwæðer us se Eca æfre wille
> on heofona rice ham alefan,
> eðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde?
> (277-79)[13]

This final lament is the poet's cue to include a second exhortation to his listeners: lines 289-315 constitute a call to renounce wickedness, please the Lord and extinguish sin, to "shine forth, steadfast in truth."

Despite its homiletic tone and possible homiletic inspiration and its obvious status as a Christian poem, there are features in the work–especially diction and imagery–that derive from the poet's inherited Germanic repertoire. Such imagery manifests itself early on in the poem. For example, in his account of Creation, the poet first introduces the creation of man and the fall of the rebel angels as follows:

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13 "Will the Eternal One ever grant us a home in the Kingdom of Heaven, a homeland to possess, as he did in the past?"

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Dreamas he gedelde, duguðe and geoguþe:
Adam ærest, and þæt æðele cyn,
engla ordfruman, þæt þe eft forwarð.
Îuhte him on mode þæt hit mihte swa,
þæt hie weron seolfe swegles brytan,
wuldres waldend. Him ðær wirse gelamp,
ða heo in helle ham staðeledon,
an æfter oðrum, in þæt atole scref,
þær heo brynewelme bidan sceolden
saran sorge; nales swegles leoht
habban in heofnum, *heahgetimbra*,
ac gedufan sceolun in ðone deopan wælm,
niðær under nessas in ðone neowlan grund,
gredige and gifre.

(19-32) [14]

The first image here bearing clear heroic resonance is that of the lord dealing out "joys", or gifts, to his retainers, an image further specified in this instance in terms of the older, veteran retainers on the one hand, and the younger, untried thanes on the other. R. E. Finnegan has argued convincingly for a chiastic structure in these lines, taking "geoguðe" to refer to Adam, and "duguðe" to Lucifer and his fellow angels (1977: 92-3). Finnegan bases his emendation of line 19 (ms: "geþeode") in part on the

[14] "He distributed joys to old and young: first Adam and that noble race (the princes of angels), which later was degenerated. They thought in their minds that it might be so that they themselves could be Lords of heaven, Rulers of glory. It turned out the worse for them, when they took up an abode in hell, one after the other, in that horrible cavern where they must endure grievous affliction in surges of fire; not at all would they enjoy the ethereal light in heaven, or the high-halls, but they—greedy and rapacious creatures—would plunge into the deep surging flames, down beneath the earth into the deep abyss." The lines I have marked off with italics are not without problems for the editor, for both the phrase in l. 19 and the word in l. 29 have been the subject of debate. Editors have interpreted them variously; Clubb, for example, maintains the ms reading of "duguðe" and "geþeode" which Finnegan rejects, while the opposite is true of "heahgetimbrad" found in the MS: Finnegan retains this, but Clubb emends to "heahgetimbra."

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occurrence of the same collocation of "duguðe" and "geoguðe" three times in *Beowulf*, where in each case it refers to Hrothgar's retainers in contexts that epitomize the mutual relationship and responsibilities of the Germanic lord and his retainers. That the relationship of God, man and the highest order of angels should be expressed in precisely these terms is extremely apposite in view of how the successive narrative unfolds, for Lucifer's crime of rebellion and presumptuous pride is rendered all the more perfidious because of his status as the leader of the tried and trusted veteran retainers of the Lord. Likewise, the magnitude of the blessing bestowed by God upon man–the untried "geoguðe"–is increased dramatically by this image, for it constitutes an oblique expression of what we may assume was the ultimate desire of every member of this latter group: to join the ranks of the "duguðe."[15] This is exactly what the poet exhorts his audience to do: if only they will reject the ways and avoid the crimes of the old "duguðe," they may earn a place at God's side in the new.

This conceptualization of relationships–Christ and Lucifer, Christ and man, Christ and His apostles–in the heroic terms of a lord and his retainers resonates throughout *Christ and Satan*. Many of the oppositions set up by the poet have clear heroic resonances in addition to their obvious Christian portent. It is the heavenly "dryht" (warrior-band) that one must aspire to, with its heavenly hall where gifts of joy and grace are dealt out, and the "duguð" and "geoguð" sing praises of their Lord. Angelic, heavenly light takes the place of gold and favours as chief among the joys of dwelling in such an "eðel." Satan's condition, by contrast, is portrayed in

[15] The term "duguþ" was also often used to refer specifically to the heavenly host. See the *Dictionary of Old English* s.v. "duguþ," 4.b.ii.

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terms of undesirable opposites. The *comitatus* of Satan and his followers constitutes an anti-*dryht*, which has as its dwelling not the high halls of heaven (l. 29, above) but a wind-swept and terrifying anti-hall. Instead of praising their Lord as do the members of the heavenly "dryht" (cf. ll. 151b-55 and 210-24), Satan's followers scorn him (ll. 51-64). Unlike Christ, who deals out gifts of love and salvation (ll. 19ff.), Satan has nothing to offer his followers but the trials of exile and the absence of all joy; in fact, torments are their "hyht" (hope; e.g. ll. 70 and 335).

With regard to the secular heroic imagery used by the *Christ and Satan* poet, the motif of the demons' fate as wandering exiles is a particularly vivid and striking one. Generally speaking, one can discern two distinct attitudes towards exile current throughout the Anglo-Saxon England period. To the pious monk who has taken his vows and embarked upon a spiritual pilgrimage, the object of which is to be reunited with God, the condition of exile–be it an actual sojourn in a foreign land as missionary, pilgrim or hermit, or figural, as in his rejection of the world and retreat to a monastic cell–is ideally always voluntary and desirable. In fact, the concept of exile in the Christian sense is often the very definition of the human condition. Germanic exile, on the other hand, is never voluntary, nor natural, and separation from one's native land and the protection of one's lord is often portrayed in the Old English elegies as the worst fate a man could endure. It is for this reason that our poet's use of the motif to describe Satan's fate is especially effective, and whether it is a holdover from heroic diction or an indication of the status and tastes of his own audience, it constitutes an important thematic feature of the work. Beginning at ll. 119, Satan laments his fate in the following terms:

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Forðon ic sceal hean and earm hweorfan ðy widor,
wadan wræclastas, wuldor benemed,
duguðum bedeled, nænigne dream agan
uppe mid ænglum, þes ðe ic ær gecwæð
þæt ic wære seolfa swægles brytta,
wihta wealdend.

(119-24a)[16]

Likewise, in lines 187b ff. Satan remarks, "[Ic] sceal nu wræclastas / settan sorhcearig, siþas wide." (Now I, sorrow-bound, must trace the paths of exile, far-flung journeys.) Finally, the active image of wandering the paths of exile is applied to Satan and his followers yet again at 256b ff., "Cuð is wide / þæt wreclastas wunian moton / grimme grundas." (It is widely known that we must inhabit the paths of exile, the cruel abysses.)

Vivid and effective as this imagery is, its use brings to light a potential "vagary" in the poet's composition.[17] One may observe that, prior to the introduction of the exile imagery with its heroic resonances, Satan repeatedly describes his own post-lapsarian condition as one of total and absolute confinement. These references to chains and fetters are slightly ambiguous, seeming now to apply to his prison, now to his own body, but taken together they form an image of restricted mobility:

ðis is ðeostre ham ðearle gebunden
fæstum fyrclommum; flor is on welme,
ætre onæled.

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16 "For this reason I, miserable and wretched, must turn further afield and travel the paths of exile, denied heaven and deprived of blessings, not to possess any joy with the angels above, since I lately said that I myself was the lord of heaven and ruler of its creatures."
17 See especially Hugh T. Keenan, "*Christ and Satan*: Some Vagaries of Old English Poetic Composition." *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975): 25-32.

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(38-40a)[18]

And ic in wite sceal
bidan in bendum, and me bettran ham
for oferhygdum æfre ne wene.
(48b-50)[19]

Satan's followers describe him further,

Nu earttu sceaðana sum
in fyrlocan feste gebunden.
(57-8)[20]

Lines 102 ff. reinforce the idea that for Satan at least, hell is inescapable: "is ðis wites clom / feste gebunden." (This chain of punishment is bound tight.) This same expression finds an echo in a further passage suggesting Satan's being bound in chains,

Nu ic eom dædum fah,
gewundod mid wommum; sceal nu þysne wites clom
beoran beornende in bæce minum,
hat on helle, hyhtwillan leas.
(155b-58)[21]

Finally, the Prince of Devils ("heora aldor") is depicted as "bound fast in fetters of fire and flame" ("fæste gebunden / fyre and lige." 323b-324a).

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18 "This is a dark home, tightly bound in firm shackles of fire; the floor is surging, burning with venom."
19 "And I must remain under torment in chains, and because of pride never expect for myself a better home."
20 "Now you are one of the criminals, bound fast in a fiery prison."
21 "Now I am stained [guilty] by my deeds, wounded with evils; now I must bear this chain of punishment on my back, hot in hell, deprived of the hope of joy."

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To the literal-minded reader these details—the binding of Satan in hell and his simultaneous "wandering the paths of exile"—would seem to conflict. One might account for this apparent contradiction by pointing out that the hell in which Satan and his angels dwell is a vast one (it is a "wide . . . winsele," an expansive wine-hall [319], and a paradoxically wind-swept one, at that ["ðes windiga sele." 135b]), thus any wandering that Satan might do would have to be within the confines of this "hall." So too, the chains with which the Old Adversary is bound might be perceived in terms of those flames of hell which the poet describes as accompanying the lesser devils wherever they wander (ll. 261b-4). Yet even the notion that Satan is locked firmly in hell seems to becontradicted in at least three places. Perhaps foreshadowing the introduction of the imagery of exile introduced at lines 119 ff., and seemingly in flat contradiction to all descriptions of his situation up to this point in the poem, Satan remarks:

> Nu ic feran com
> deofla menego to ðissum dimman ham;
> ac ic sceal on flyge and on flyhte ðragum
> earda neosan, and eower ma
> þe ðes oferhydes ord onstaldon.
>
> (109b-13)[22]

Further on the Devil indicates to which souls of men he is allowed to lay claim:

> Ne ic þam sawlum ne mot
> ænigum sceððan

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22 "Now I have come travelling with a multitude of devils to this dim home. But I, and more of you who authored the beginning of this pride, must from time to time take wing in flight to seek out homes."

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butan þam anum þe he agan nyle;
þa ic mot to hæftum ham geferian,
bringan to bolde in þone biteran grund.
(144b-48)[23]

In having Satan describe the dwelling places and powers of his fellow fallen angels, the poet again seems to disregard his previous description of the bounds of Satan's mobility, by having Satan say:

Sceal nu þeos menego her
licgan on leahtrum; sume on lyft scacan,
fleogan ofer foldan, fyr bið ymbutan
on æghwylcum, þæh he uppe seo.
Ne mot he þam sawlum þe ðær secað up,
eadige of eorþan æfre gehrinan.
Ah ic be hondum mot hæþenre sceale
gripan to grunde, godes andsacan.
Sume sceolon hweorfan geond hæleða land
and unsibbe oft onstyrian
monna mægðum geond middaneard.
Ic her geþolian sceal þinga æghwylces,
bitres niðæs bealа gnornian,
sic and sorhful) þæs ic seolfa weold,
þonne ic on heofonum ham staðelode.
(261-75)[24]

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[23] "None of these souls am I able to harm except those that He does not want; those I may carry home to bondage, bring them to an abode in this dire place."

[24] "Now this multitude must lie here in its sins; some to hurry in the air, to fly above the earth—fire surrounds each of them, though he be on high. He may never lay hold of those blessed souls that seek upwards there from earth. But I, with my hands, may clutch down to the abyss the heathen throng, the enemies of God. Some shall wander about the land of men and often stir up strife among the races of man throughout middle earth. I, here—sick and sorrowful—must bewail the woes of my bitter malice, I must suffer the loss of each thing over which I myself held power when I possessed a home in heaven."

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Thus the pattern which emerges concerning Satan's freedom of movement may be summarized as follows: he is initially described as suffering extreme limitation in his mobility, both in terms of being locked in the prison of hell, and of being further restricted within those confines. (ll. 38 ff, 48 ff., 57-8 and 102 ff.). In apparent contradiction to this, Satan himself remarks that he must from time to time seek out another abode (109 ff.). Next, he describes his fate and that of his followers in terms of "wandering the paths of exile" (ll. 119 ff.), and, moreover, seems to indicate that he is capable of personally carrying back down to hell the souls of sinners, despite his previously detailed confinement to (and apparently fettered condition within) hell. Shortly hereafter Satan complains of the "burning fetters" on his back, again suggesting a degree of limited mobility hardly consistent with his movements just described (154 ff.). Finally, in the longer passage cited above, the contradiction we are scrutinizing here seems most pronounced: Satan describes both the freedom of his followers to fly above the earth (262-7), and his own restriction to suffering in hell, while sandwiched in the middle of these descriptions is his claim to be able to snatch down into the abyss errant souls "with his hands" (ll. 268-9).

These two ways of depicting Satan's situation, however conflicting they may be from a narratological perspective, epitomize the meeting of Christian content and native Germanic form, for the notion that Satan was chained in hell has Biblical authority, while, as mentioned above, the condition of exile had a particularly ominous connotation for the secular

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circles of Germanic society.[25] The chief Biblical witness to Satan's bondage is of course Revelation 20:1-3:

> 1) et vidi angelum descendentem de caelo habentem clavem abyssi et catenum magnam in manu sua 2) et adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas et ligavit eum per annos mille 3) et misit eum in abyssum et clusit et signavit super illum ut non seducat amplius gentes donec consummentur mille anni post haec oportet illum solvi modico tempore.[26]

The idea has further New Testament witnesses in Jude 6 and 2 Peter 2:4. Most commentators take these passages to refer to Christ's actions during his post-Passion descent and Harrowing of hell,[27] though in *Christ and Satan*, which itself contains an account of the Harrowing (derived from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*), they are clearly applied to Satan's condition before the Passion of Christ. The clearest and least ambiguous parallel example in Old English of the belief that Satan was bound in hell

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[25] Many commentators take these passages to refer to Christ's actions during his post-Passion descent and the Harrowing of hell, though in *Christ and Satan*, which itself contains an account of the Harrowing (derived from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; See Morey (James H. Morey, "Adam and Judas in the Old English *Christ and Satan*." *Studies in Philology* 87, (1990): 397-409) for a recent discussion of the relationship of this text to *Christ and Satan*), they are clearly applied to Satan's condition before the Passion of Christ.The force of this imagery in the religious context is reinforced by the fact that fettering was common and hence much used throughout the poetic corpus for describing a state of helplessness. Cf. e.g. *The Seafarer* 9-10: "waeron mine fet, forste gebunden / caldum clommum" (my feet were bound by frost, with cold fetters); further *Wanderer* 21; Amulets and charms against fettering (Meaney). The "Imma and Timma" episode in Bede's EH, Bk. 4: 22 should also be taken into consideration. For other thematic implications of bondage in Christian religious poetry, with special reference to Old English, see Thomas Rendall, "Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry." *JEGP* 73 (1974): 497-512.

[26] "(1) And I saw an angel coming down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. 2) And he laid hold on the dragon the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. 3) And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should no more seduce the nations, till the thousand years be finished. And after that, he must be loosed a little time." (Text from the Vulgate, translation, *DV*).

[27] See Abbetmeyer, p. 16

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after his fall from heaven, and prior to the Harrowing, is found in the same manuscript containing *Christ and Satan*, namely *Genesis B*. At ll. 371 ff. the archdevil's confinement is described in no uncertain terms:

> Ac licgað me ymbe irenbenda,
> rideð racentan sal. Ic eom rices leas;
> habbað me swa hearde helle clommas
> fæste befangen. Her is fyr micel,
> ufan and neoðone. Ic a ne geseah
> laðran landscipe. Lig ne aswamað,
> hat ofer helle. Me habbað hringa gespong,
> sliðhearda sal siðes amyrred,
> afyrred me min feð; fet synt gebundene,
> handa gehæfte. Synt þissa heldora
> wegas forworhte, swa ic mid wihte ne mæg
> of þissum lioðbendum. Licgað me ymbe
> heardes irenes hate geslægene
> grindlas greate. Mid þy me god hafað
> gehæfted be þam healse.
>
> (371-385)[28]

This textual picture is further reinforced by the illustrations in the manuscript, for in a number of drawings (pp. 16, 17, 20 and 36) Satan is depicted as being bound hand and foot and quite incapable of movement. The *Genesis B* poet exploits Satan's condition to give expression once again to the heroic economy of the mutual responsibilities of a lord and his retainers. Not able to fly forth himself, he reminds his followers of the

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[28] "But bonds of iron encompass me; a collar of chain chafes me. I am powerless, such hard fetters of hell bind me fast. Here is a great fire, both above and below. I have never seen a more hateful landscape. The fire will not die down, hot throughout hell. Welded links, a cruel chain, have hindered my movement, taken away my power of motion; my feet are shackled, my hands tethered. The ways are obstructed by these hell-doors such that I cannot at all escape from these bonds. About me lie bonds of tough iron, forged in great heat. With these God has tethered me by the neck."

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treasures he had dealt out when in heaven, and exhorts one of them to pay back this debt by venturing forth to tempt Adam and Eve (409-21).[29]

The use of the pair of images to describe Satan discussed thus far—his being bound in chains in hell, and his simultaneous status as an exile—is not unique to *Christ and Satan.* In *Guthlac A,* Guthlac speaks of the devils who torment him as having been driven into strict bondage ("under nearone clom"; Roberts: ll. 592 ff.) by Christ. In *Andreas,* Andrew reminds the devil of how the Almighty had thrust him down into hell and fettered him with a chain (ll. 1185 ff.). Both exile and bondage are combined more explicitly in the following passage, also from *Andreas*:

> "Hwæt, me eaðe ælmihtig god,
> niða nergend, se ðe in niedum iu
> gefæstnode fyrnum clommum!
> Êær ðu syððan a, susle gebunden,
> in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne,
> syððan ðu forhogedes heofoncyninges word.
> (1376-81)[30]

In the poetic *Solomon and Saturn* dialogue, the devil and his followers are described as having been driven out of heaven, falling into

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[29] In his edition of *Genesis B* A.N. Doane comments on the motif: "The picture of Satan enchained at the beginning of the world is unusual. In most early versions of the Fall of the Angels, Satan is thought of as being cast into the air, or the lower heavens, or to the earth, or, if to Hell, in a way that leaves him free to roam. Satan bound is a theme of the *descensus*, the Descent of Christ into Hell which has brought the previously unlimited power of the devil under control" (p. 135). And further: "In traditional teaching the devil roamed the earth after his fall. [. . .] The binding of Satan belongs with the harrowing of Hell motif, the poet combining it with the Fall of the Angels to show evil's state of essential powerlessness. This involves the combination of two events far separated in time, the time at the beginning of the world when evil took its form and the time at the moment of the Redemption when it met its ultimate check" (p. 136).

[30] "Lo! Almighty God can easily free me, the Saviour of men, who long ago bound you in fetters with fiery chains! There, ever since, you have dwelt in exile, bound in torment and deprived of glory, ever since you disregarded the word of the heavenly King."

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the regions beneath the earth, and being bound fast there in chains.[31] Finally, Satan's condition is described in the Old English *Elene* in terms of both outlawry and bondage:

> Dæs ðu, god dryhten,
> wealdest widan fyrhð, ond þu womfulle
> scyldwyrcende sceaðan of radorum
> awurpe wonhydige. Ða sio werge sceolu
> under heolstorhofu hreosan sceolde
> in wita forwyrd, ðær hie in wylme nu
> dreogað deaðcwale in dracan fæðme,
> ðeostrum forþylmed. He þinum wiðsoc
> aldordome. Dæs he in ermðum sceal,
> ealra fula ful, fah þrowian,
> þeowned þolian. Dær he þin ne mæg
> word aweorpan, is in witum fæst
> ealre synne fruma, susle gebunden.
>
> (759-71)[32]

All of these passages have in common with *Christ and Satan* that they portray Satan's condition, after his fall, in terms of confinement. In some (particularly *Andreas* and *Elene*) the suffering of the apostate angels is underlined by the mention of their state of exile. Yet I would suggest that there is a fundamental difference between these poems and *Christ and Satan*

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31 ASPR VI: 47, ll. 451 ff.

32 "This you, Lord God, shall govern for ever more, and you cast down the guilty, sinning despoilers, the rash ones, from the heavens. Then that accursed crew was forced to sink down into dark abodes, into a ruin of torments, where they must now suffer in that surge [of fire] death-agonies in the dragon's grasp, smothered in darkness. He rebelled against your authority. For that he must, full of every foulness, suffer miseries and outlawry, endure subjugation. There he is not able to reject your word, he, the originator of all sin, is bound fast in torments and torture." It is worth noting that in adapting his source material, Cynewulf has embellished this passage by adding the references found here to both Satan's state of outlawry ("fah") and his being "bound fast in torments and torture."

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in their expression of this latter image. Whereas Satan is portrayed in both *And.* and *Elene* as existing in a state of exile, i.e. separation from his original, native home in heaven, the *Christ and Satan* poet is much more specific in his use of active verbs to describe Satan's condition: not only has he been cast out of his former home, but he "wanders" and "traces" the paths of exile.

Once we recognize that our poet's use of these two seemingly conflicting motifs is potentially bewildering, then the next step is to posit a way of accounting for it. We might attribute it to the poet's "absentmindedness",[33] and accept it as a feature akin to, for example, his apparent disregard for chronology in the larger structure of the poem. Alternatively we might simply assume that the poet has employed these two motifs as general expressions of extreme hardship and suffering, juxtaposing the "original" Biblical one alongside of the secular one merely for poetic effect. Yet it seems unlikely that either the poet or his audience would have been unaware of the conflict inherent in the two differing descriptions of Satan's mobility I have cited: they are dramatic and compelling, but taken together literally they seem irreconcilable.

Rather than assume that the poet was confused, lax, or merely using these motifs for poetic effect without regard for the disjunction they create in the narrative logic of this section of the poem, we might instead suppose that he has imposed a different kind of logic on his material. And we find a clear formulation of a means for interpreting precisely this kind of passage in a text that exerted a profound influence on Christian thinking throughout the European Middle Ages: Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana.*

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33 Gollancz, 1927: civ-cv

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Towards the end of Book III of this text Augustine includes the *Liber Regularum* of Tyconius. The work is comprised of seven rules for the interpretation of Scripture, and their inclusion in *De Doctrina Christiana* accounts for the important role they played in medieval exegesis. That they were known in Anglo-Saxon England is attested by Bede's citation of them in the preface to his *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, and we also know that Alcuin made use of them.[34] The rules from the *Liber Regularum* of greatest relevance to this discussion are numbers one and seven, from which I quote extensively below.

> XXXI 44. Prima *de domino et eius corpore* est; in qua scientes aliquando capitis et corporis, id est Christi et ecclesiae, unam personam nobis intimari–neque enim frustra dictum est fidelibus: *Ergo Abrahae semen estis*, cum sit unum semen Abrahae, quod est Christus–non haesitemus, quando a capite ad corpus uel a corpore transitur ad caput et tamen non receditur ab una eademque persona. Vna enim persona loquitur dicens: *Sicut sponso imposuit mihi mitram, et sicut sponsam ornauit me ornamento*, et tamen quid horum duorum capiti, quid copori, id est quid Christo, quid ecclesiae conueniat, utique intellegendum est.[35]

This "rule" is immediately recognizable as an elaboration on Paul's metaphor (in 1 Corinthians 12:12-13) in which he interprets Christ as the "Head" of the Church, whose members are His "limbs." Thus, echoes

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34 Bede, PL 93 129 ff.

35 CCSL vol. 32: "The first is "Of the Lord and His Body," according to which it is understood that sometimes the head and the body, that is, Christ and the Church, are indicated to us as one person . . . and we should not hesitate when the discussion moves from the head to the body or from the body to the head without leaving the subject of the single person. Thus one person is speaking in "as a bridegroom decked with a crown, and as a bride adorned with her jewels" (Isa. 61:10), but which of the two applies to the head and which to the body, that is, which applies to Christ and which applies to the Church, should be understood." The translation is D.W. Robertson's.

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Tyconius, both the Head and the Body (i.e. Christ and the Church) are represented in one and the same person; nevertheless, it is understood that the actions of that person are to be distinguished as applying now to Christ, now to His Body or the Church. We encounter, in fact, a sure resonance of this way of viewing Christ and the Church in *Christ and Satan,* though it need not have derived directly from Tyconius. At ll. 151 ff., Satan recalls how before his fall he and the heavenly troop had worshipped Christ:

> Ful oft wuldres sweg
> brohton to bearme bearne hælendes,
> þær we ymb hine utan ealle hofan,
> *leomu ymb leofne,* lofsonga word
> drihtne sædon.
>
> (151b-55a)[36]

At line 381 we find yet another use of this imagery; the souls waiting in hell for Christ's appearance at the Harrowing see him thus: "Blis wearð monnum / þa hi hælendes heafod gesawon" (Joy was to the mortals when they saw the Savior's head. ll. 380b-81). This is a clear allusion to the divine aspect of Christ, and one which evokes as well the head and body imagery given expression in the Tyconian Rules.[37]

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36 "Full often we offered praise to the Son of God the Saviour when we, round about him as limbs about the loved one, all raised the words of the songs of praise, addressing them to the Lord."

37 For a discussion of this figure in these very lines, see Hill ("'Byrht Word' and 'Hælendes Heafod': Christological Allusion in the Old English *Christ and Satan.*" *English Language Notes* 8 [1970]: 5-8). See also Clubb, *Christ and Satan,* p. 74, note to lines 154-156 on "leomu" and head and body imagery. Greenfield ("The Extremities of the *Beowulf*ian Body Politic." In: *Saints, Scholars, and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in Honor of Charles W. Jones.* 2 vols. Ed. Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens. Collegeville, Minn: Saint John's Abbey and University Press, 1979, I: 1-14; at p. 4) detects a figurative hierarchical structure in secular Lord-retainer relationships (in Beowulf) that seems relevant. His proposition that "references to the literal physical extremities

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Not unexpectedly, Tyconius formulates an equal and opposite rule concerning the Devil:

> XXXVII 55. Septima Ticonii regula est eademque postrema *de diabolo et eius corpore.* Est enim et ipse caput impiorum, qui sunt eius quodam modo corpus, ituri cum illo in supplicium ignis aeterni, sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae, quod est corpus eius futurum cum illo in regno et gloria sempiterna. Sicut ergo in prima regula, quam uocat *de domino et eius corpore*, uigilandum est, ut intellegatur, cum de una eademque persona scriptura loquitur, quid conueniat capiti, quid corpori; ita et in ista nouissima, aliquando in dibolum dicitur, quod non in ipso, sed potius in eius corpore possit agnosci, quod habet, non solum in eis, *qui* manifestissime *foris sunt*, sed in eis etiam qui, cum ad ipsum pertineant, tamen ad tempus miscentur ecclesias, donec unusquisque de hac uita exeat uel a frumento palea uentilabro ultimo separetur. Quod enim scriptum est apud Esaiam: *Quomodo cecidit de caelo Lucifer mane oriens* et cetera, quae sub figura regis Babyloniae de eadem persona uel ad eandem personam dicta sunt, in ipsa contextione sermonis de diabolo uitique intelleguntur, et tamen quod ibi dictum est: *Contritus est in terra, qui mittit ad omnes gentes*, non totum ipsi capiti congruit. Nam etsi mittit ad omnes gentes diabolus angelos suos, tamen in terra corpus eius, non ipse, conteritur, nisi quia ipse est in corpore suo, quod contritum fit *puluis, quem proicit uentus a facie terrae.*[38]

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resonate with the concept of thaneship" (p. 4) might be used in conjunction with Tyconius to account for Satan's use of his "hands" to snatch down souls of sinners.

38 "The seventh rule of Tyconius, and the last, is 'Of the Devil and his Body.' For he is the head of the impious, who are in a way his body, and who will go with him to the tortures of eternal fire in the same way that Christ is the head of the Church, which is His body, and will be with Him in His Kingdom and everlasting glory. Therefore, just as in the first rule called "Of the Lord and His Body" it is necessary to be alert in order to understand what pertains to the head and what pertains to the body when Scripture speaks of one and the same person, so in this last one, sometimes things are said concerning the Devil which may be understood not with reference to himself, but rather to his body. This body is not only made up of those who are manifestly "without," but also of those who, althought they belong to it, for a time mingle with the Church until each of then leaves this life, or until tha fan shall at last separate the wheat from the chaff. That which is written in Isaias, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning?" (Isa. 14:12) and the

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These passages from Tyconius's *Liber regularum* provide a key of sorts for reconciling the narrative inconsistencies in the first section of *Christ and Satan.* While it is an obvious fact that the Rules were meant as an aid for the interpretation of difficult passages in Scripture, and that the text we are dealing with forms no part of that canon, we may with some confidence infer that, given the influence of Augustine's treatise, the exegetical methods it embodies would have informed the thinking of the *Christ and Satan* poet. I do not mean to suggest that he would have had the Tyconian Rules in front of him, or even that he need necessarily ever have seen them. Rather I would stress that the alternative they offer to the literal reading of obscure passages would have been so familiar as to have conditioned his thinking and poetic composition.[39]

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other things which are said under the figure of the king of Babylon concerning the same person or to the same person in the same context, are certainly all to be understood concerning the Devil; and yet when it is said, '*How art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations?*' (Isa. 14:12), the idea does not totally apply to the head. For although the Devil sends his angels to all te nations, nevertheless his body, rather than himself, is cast down upon the earth, except in that he is in his body which is crushed *like the dust, which the wind driveth from the face of the earth*" (Ps 1:4). Translation Robertson's.

[39] Augustine himself employs and expands the potential these rules provide for figurative readings in, curiously enough, his treatise on the literal meaning of Genesis, *De genesi ad litteram.* In book 24 of this work (headed by the rubric: "The wicked are the body of the Devil, and he is their head") Augustine comments on Isaiah 14:12-15:

> These words are understood as addressed to the Devil under the figure of the king of Babylon. But for the most part they apply to the body of the Devil, which he recruits even from the human race, especially to those who attach themselves to him through pride by rejecting the commandments of God. Thus, one who was a devil was called a man in the Gospel, where it is said, *A man who is an enemy has done this.* And one who was a man was in turn called a devil in the Gospel, in the words, *Did I not choose you, the twelve, and one of you is a devil?*
>
> Now, the body of Christ, which is the Church, is called Christ, as when St. Paul says, *You are Abraham's offspring,* after he had said shortly before this, *The promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, "And to offsprings," as if to many, but as to one, "And to your offspring, "which is Christ.* Again, St. Paul says, *For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, although they are many, are one body, so it is with*

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To restate the problem: apparently the presence of the incongruous representation of Satan's mobile capacities—the result of a mixture of images—was not in the least disturbing to the poet or his audience. I would, in fact, argue that it need not have been, but the incongruity—certainly at the literal level—remains. To argue that these images did not appear problematic to their medieval audience should not deter us from adducing the perspective by which they might be reconciled. If we assume that we are dealing merely with the blending of two distinct genres here—the Christian, in which Satan is conceived of as bound, and the secular, which allows the introduction of the heroic motif of wandering the paths of exile—then we may be too willing to leave the poet open to charges of carelessness, or even incompetence. I would instead suggest that we have here another example of the fusion of Germanic and Christian modes of thought, for while the poet seems understandably drawn towards the

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> *Christ.* In a similar manner, the body of the Devil is called the Devil, for he is the head of the body, that is, of the multitude of the wicked, especially of those who fall from heaven, inasmuch as they fall away from Christ and the Church. Hence it is that many statements are made figuratively, refering to the body, statements which are applicable not so much to the head as to the body and its members. Lucifer, then, who rose at dawn and fell, can be understood as the brood of apostates from Christ and the Church, a race that turned towards darkness on losing the light which it bore, just as those who turn towards God pass from darkness to light, that is, those who were darkness become light. (Translated by John Hammond Taylor. Ancient Christian Writers, New York: Newman Press, 1982. pp. 155ff.)

The figurative mode of reading illustrated here was widespread throughout western Christendom, not least due to the influence of these two treatises, which themselves enjoyed great popularity in Anglo-Saxon England as well. It is this mode of thinking, I believe, that lies behind the *Christ and Satan* poet's seemingly contradictory narrative choices. Other early Christian writers who use the idea expressed in Tyconius's seventh rule (*de diabolo et eius corpore*) include Cyril of Alexandria, Hilary, Ambrose, and Ambrosiaster. See also Sebastian Tromp, S.J., *Corpus Christi quod est ecclesia* 1, 2nd ed., Rome, 1946; 160-66. A very thorough study of Augustine's treatment of the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ, including commentary on his sources and his influence on later writers, is to be found in Stanislaus J. Grabowski, "St. Augustine and the Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ." *Theological Studies* 7 (1946): 72-125.

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dramatic, traditional Germanic topos, and while he exploits the image to full effect, it is the Christian, figurative mode of interpretation that allows him to do so without violating the internal logic of his narrative.

Viewed in Tyconian/Augustinian terms, the Devil in *Christ and Satan* becomes at once a more wretched and a more fearsome creature. He is wretched, because as the "head of the impious" he is imprisoned, having been defeated by Christ and thrown out of heaven, bound in chains and the sufferer of both physical and psychological torments, the least bearable of the latter being his state of exile from his former joy and glory. He is fearsome, because despite his confinement he is able through the actions of his Body, i.e. his fellow apostate angels, to strike out at and ensnare the souls of men. Thus, one way of reading the passages discussed here is to understand that when Satan speaks of "flying out" (ll. 111 ff.), of himself carrying back down to hell the souls of men (ll. 114 ff.), or of snatching them down with his own "hands" (ll. 267-8), such actions are to be understood "not with reference to himself, but rather to his body." That the Devil is not, in the end, portrayed as the heroic, tragic figure of *Genesis B* or *Paradise Lost* has been noted by other critics.[40] Indeed, the poet's didactic, hortatory tone and his treatment of Satan's situation and plaints leaves little room for any "sympathy for the Devil" on his audience's part. Moreover, the pair of images discussed here helps the poet, within his didactic framework, to illustrate an important Christian paradox: the simultaneous power and impotence of the sin and evil embodied in Satan.

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[40] E.g. Greenfield and Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 1986: p. 210; Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, p. 48.

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Chapter Three

Euhemerization versus Demonization of the Pagan gods and Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis.*

It is a cliché of intellectual history that Christians in the early Middle Ages rejected their pagan heritage, whether classical, Germanic or Celtic. Like all clichés, this one has some truth to it, yet the history of Christian attitudes towards the pagan past is more nuanced and complex than one might first suppose. Another commonplace in the history of the clash between pagan and Christian culture holds that most of the written evidence we possess has passed through the hands of Christian writers. Hence the student of Germanic paganism in particular has reason to lament the paucity of explicit and detailed references to paganism in the extant records.[1] And yet, if some of these writers have taken pains to suppress the kind of detail we would all be eager to learn more about, the various modes in which they wrote about and argued against paganism may in themselves yield some small insight into the complexity of their attitudes toward their pagan past. In what follows I hope to show that close scrutiny of the silences and elisions in Christian polemic against the gods can be informative and instructive, if not, however, spectacular.

In his seminal study, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, Jean Seznec briefly traces the Christian apologetic and patristic tradition that embraced

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[1] There are four unambiguous references to pagan practice in Anglo-Saxon England: Gregory's Letter to Mellitus (Bede EH I.30, pp. 106-09); the famous account of Edwin's conversion (Bede EH II.13, pp. 182-87); Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* (*De Mensibus Anglorum*, CCSL 123B, p. 332); and Aldhelm's Letter to Heahfrið (*Aldhelmi Opera.* 1919. Reprint. MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi 15, ed. Rudolfus Ehwald. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1984, p. 489).

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euhemerization as an important element in Christian strategies for dealing with the pagan deities. The view that the gods had been men, rulers raised to the rank of the divine by their ancestors, was an effective weapon against paganism in the hands of apologists such as Tertullian, Lactantius and Augustine of Hippo. For Seznec, however, euhemerization assumes real interest when medieval writers begin, in increasingly elaborate ways, to historicize the former gods. It is especially Isidore of Seville and his continuators who give the concept new direction by situating the gods—"secundum ordinem temporum"—in world history.[2] In the course of his analysis, Seznec moves forward swiftly in time from Isidore to Peter Comestor whose synthesis of inherited mythological material in the *Historia scholastica* was to prove so influential in forming and perpetuating what he terms the "orthodox euhemerist views" of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Given the ultimate focus of Seznec's book, it is perhaps understandable that Seznec passes over a period of nearly five centuries without mentioning a single writer from Anglo-Saxon England. Earlier studies devoted to the concept of euhemerism exhibit the same gap in coverage. John Daniel Cooke, in a study that appeared in 1927, was one of the first to deal with the subject at any length. Cooke surveys the tradition in late classical and early Christian writers, then proceeds quickly from Isidore to the Middle English writers of the fourteenth century who form the ultimate focus of his interest. He justifies this leap with the following statement:

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[2] Seznec, Jean, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art.*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961) 14

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> After the beginning of the seventh century, with the decline of interest in the ancient world, fewer writers discuss the subject of classical paganism.[3]

Ignoring for the moment Cooke's questionable conclusion concerning post seventh century "interest in the ancient world", we must concede that the kind of discussion he was looking for is indeed not to be found until the twelfth century and later.[4] We recognize as well that neither Cooke nor Seznec was concerned, as we might be, with Northern Germanic paganism. Yet it is precisely when we turn our attention to certain texts current especially in Anglo-Saxon England that some of their conclusions seem potentially misleading. Seznec remarks, for example, that:

> Neither Isidore nor his followers attribute a demonic character to the genius, the supernatural gifts which have brought about the elevation of great men to the rank of gods.[5]

Now although it has long been recognized that euhemerization is, in Dorothy Bethurum's words, "a commonplace of medieval thought and to be found wherever Christians write about the older gods,"[6] few have noted, or, rather, most have perhaps simply taken for granted, that, when it comes to such euhemeristic discussions of the pagan deities, the concept of demonization is almost always involved as well. These concepts are eminently compatible ones within the context of Christian explanations of

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[3] Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Medieval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," *Speculum* 2 (1927): 396-410, at p. 403. He traces the concept from Euhemerus to John of Damascus, and from the latter to Vincent of Beauvais. He lists as well writers of the late twelfth century and beyond who were indebted to Peter Comestor for their mythological lore (pp. 404-5). Cooke's "oversight" was noted and very briefly redressed by Robert J. Menner in his "Two Notes on Mediaeval Euhemerism," *Speculum* 3 (1928): 246-48.

[4] Among the authors in whom Cooke traces the influence of Isidore are Peter Comestor, Vincent of Beauvais, Guido delle Colonne, John Gower, Lydgate and William Caxton; see especially pp. 403 ff.

[5] Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods*, p. 17.

[6] Dorothy Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957); p. 335.

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the pagan gods. They also receive varying degrees of emphasis, depending, among other things, on the particular genre and audience of the texts in which they appear.

If we may imagine a spectrum upon which to situate the Christian writers who have emphasized one or the other of these two concepts—and I hasten to admit that this is a somewhat clumsy and mechanical metaphor, for no one-dimensional construct can do justice to the complexity of issues involved here—we might posit euhemerization and demonization as its extreme poles. The degree to which any given writer emphasizes the demonic or euhemeristic in his total account of the gods determines his place on our scale. Moreover, audience and genre may play a role in the amount of stress accorded to these concepts in any given text. Thus, for example, it is hardly surprising that, in his commentary on Psalm 95, which he addresses to an audience of fellow-Christians, Augustine gives free reign to the view that all the heathen gods are devils. He invokes what amounts to the Christian war-cry on the subject, Psalm 96:5: *Omnes dii gentium demonia, Dominus autem cælos fecit,* in an exposition that is unambiguous in its assessment of the diabolical nature of all heathen gods.[7]

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[7] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (CCSL 39, pp.1334-35). "Hear from another Psalm, *As for all the gods of the heathen, they are but devils; but it is the Lord who made the heavens.* The Holy spirit could not in terms more magnificent and lofty commend unto thee through the Prophet thy God and Lord. It was not enough to say that God is terrible above all devils: why is it high praise enough to say, that He is above all devils? *For all the gods of the heathen are but devils.* But where is thy Lord? *But it is the Lord who made the heavens.* Thy God created that, where devils cannot dwell: for the devils were cast down from heaven. The heavens are preferred to the devils, thy Lord even to the heavens: because thy Lord made also the heavens. How much higher therefore than the heathen gods, that are devils, is He, Who is higher than the heavens, whence fell the angels, to become devils? And yet all nations were under these devils: temples were built to devils, altars reared to devils, priests established to devils, sacrifices offered to devils, men brought in for prophets that were possessed with devils! All these honours the heathen offered to devils: all, in their true use, are only due to the one great God. The heathen erected a temple to devils; God hath a temple: the heathen established priests for devils; God hath a priest; the heathen offered sacrifice to devils; God hath a sacrifice. For those

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By contrast, in his correspondence with Maximus the Grammarian, in which he is addressing an inveterate pagan, but yet one whose learning and wisdom he seems to respect, Augustine limits his polemic to the strictly euhemeristic interpretation.

Among the early Christian apologists a pattern emerges in their use of euhemerization and demonization. The first step in combatting pagan worship was to establish that the gods had been men, long dead, who were born of human parents. The second essential step in this process was to blame devils for urging men to worship these dead men, and to identify them with the resulting gods. This pattern is reflected, for example, in Augustine's *De civitate Dei.* When Augustine addresses the worship of Saturn, he begins by adducing the euhemeristic interpretation, but is quick to add that the rites and solemnities that grew up around men like Saturn spread through the influence of false spirits who "seduced men to receive them."[8] Elsewhere in the *De civitate Dei,* however, Augustine frequently wields the relevant verse from Psalm 95, *Omnes dii gentium demonia,* to clarify the true nature of all pagan gods: they are malign spirits; they have taught men how to manufacture idols, which they inhabit themselves, and they have tricked men into worshipping them. Whatever may in the distant past have been the true identity of the gods as men, for Augustine the pagan deities worshipped by his opponents were primarily and unquestionably

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devils who wished to appear gods, would not exact such honours in order to deceive, unless because they know that they are due unto the true God; for what a false deity arrogates to himself, is usually due to the True God." St. Augustine, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms by S. Augustine, Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church,* iv Psalms LXXVI-CI (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1850).

[8] *De ciuitate Dei* 7.18 (CCSL 47, pp. 200-01). Euhemerism plays a similar role in his discussion of the Egyptian gods in Bk. 10. 26 (CCSL 47, pp. 300-01).

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demonic. Much the same approach and pattern is to be found in other apologists, such as Tertullian and Lactantius.[9]

To homiletic exposition and Christian apologetic we may add a third genre of writing that is neither admonitory nor polemical in purpose: encyclopedias such as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. Here, euhemerism is seen to lose "its polemic venom," and has "become instead an auxiliary to historical research."[10] The gods are historicized, and there is a clear demarcation between their historical origin as men, and their subsequent incorporation into heathen cult at the instigation of the devil.[11] Moreover, the euhemerism of Isidore and his continuators distinguishes itself by the degree to which these men-become-gods are cast in a conspicuously positive light. Seznec characterizes this with respect to Isidore:

> Above all, . . . [Isidore] singled out . . . the heroic figures who, from Prometheus on, had been leaders and pioneers in civilization—slayers of monsters, founders of cities, discoverers of arts and skills. The result was to restore dignity and independence to the personages of Fable: as benefactors of humanity they had every right to be held in grateful remembrance. And on the other hand, there was no reason for

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[9] Tertullian, for example, in his *Apologeticum* (CCSL 1), takes the euhemeristic approach in chapter 10, and mentions it in passing in chapters 12:1 and 25:10. In chapters 22-25, however, he illustrates the demonic powers behind pagan cults, presenting the full range of their influence and purpose, from their chief aim of corrupting mankind, to the instigation of pagan idol-worship, to their assistance of magicians.

[10] Seznec, p. 13.

[11] Isidore's opening line of Bk. VIII, ch. 11, *De diis gentium*: "Quos pagani deos adserunt, homines olim fuisse produntur, et pro uniuscuisque vita vel meritis coli apud suos post mortem coeperunt. . .". Sentence 4 mentions the influence of devils in promoting their worship of gods, but even this is somewhat overshadowed by the laudatory terms in which these men are described: "Fuerunt etiam et quidam viri fortes aut urbium conditores, quibus mortuis homines, qui eos dilexerunt, simulacra finxerunt, ut haberent aliquod ex imaginum contemplatione solacium; sed paulatim hunc errorem persuadentibus daemonibus ita in posteris inrepisse, ut quos illi pro sola nominis memoria honoraverunt, successores deos existimarent atque colerent."

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> subordinating them to figures from Holy Writ—to the patriarchs, judges and prophets; they could be ranked together, even if they were not of the same lineage. By gaining a foothold in history, the gods had acquired new prestige.[12]

As compared with Augustine,[13] therefore, Isidore represents a departure within the Christian tradition, in respect of the approach to, and assimilation of, these two concepts. It is Isidore's clean separation of the demonic from the euhemeristic that was ultimately to free the way for the development of the historical tradition in Medieval and Renaissance attitudes toward the gods.[14] As a consequence, Isidore clearly occupies a spot on our spectrum more approximate to its euhemeristic extreme.

In discussing the work previous scholars have done on the euhemerization of the pagan gods, I have suggested that there is a gap in their coverage of the subject. That is not to say that the centuries between Isidore and Peter Comestor abound with writers who exhibit an active interest in the pagan gods as anything other than dead men and diabolically inspired idols. Still, writers associated in one way or another with *Germania* do demonstrate their familiarity with the concept, though their interests are hardly humanistic. In Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, for example, Clothild, wife of King Clovis, attempts to convince and convert her husband by pointing out that the names of his gods are in

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12 Seznec, pp. 14-15.

13 Seznec also lists the following: *Cohortatio ad gentes* of Clement of Alexandria; the *De idolorum vanitate* of St. Cyprian; the *De idolatria* of Tertullian; Minucius Felix's *Octavius;* Arnobius' *Adversus nationes;* Commodian's *Instructiones adversus gentium deos;* and the *De erroribus profanorum religionum* of Firmicus Maternus (pp. 12-13).

14 The other traditions traced by Seznec are the "Physical Tradition," which interpreted the gods as heavenly bodies, and the "Moral," which imposed allegorical interpretations on classical mythology. See Seznec, pp. 37-121. All three of these traditions (Historical, Physical and Moral), Seznec notes, were intermingled in and subsumed by the Encyclopedic tradition (p. 122 ff.).

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reality those of men.[15] The twelfth century Danish mythographer and historiographer Saxo Grammaticus also incorporates the euhemeristic interpretation in his history of the Danes.[16]

Bede and other Anglo-Saxon writers make relatively little use of the euhemeristic interpretation, and when the pagan gods do require mention, it is usually in a missionary context in which Psalm 96:5 is repeatedly invoked: *All the gods of the heathens are demons* echoes throughout.[17] Euhemerism does surface briefly in Anglo-Saxon England, however. Bishop Daniel of Winchester includes the euhemeristic argument in advice on converting the heathen which he gives to St. Boniface. The Alfredian translation of Boethius' *On the Consolation of Philosophy* inserts a brief explanation of the gods into the story of Ulysses and Circe.[18] And the tenth-century *Chronicon* of Æthelweard, about which I shall have more to say later, also makes use of the concept.[19]

Then there is Ælfric, whose homily on the false gods, *De Falsis Diis*, constitutes the single most extended treatment of the topic from Anglo-

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15 Bk. II. 28: "The very names which you have given them were the names of men, not gods." Translation from Lewis Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974; p. 141.

16 See below, n. 24.

17 For example, Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* Boniface's letter to Eadwin (Colgrave and Mynors, ed. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, pp. 166-70); in the Boniface correspondence, Bishop Daniel of Winchester's letter to Boniface (Dorothy Whitelock, ed. *English Historical Documents.* 2nd ed., London: Methuen, 1979: pp. 795-97).

18 Cooke, p. 246. See Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius*, ch. 38, pp. 115-16.

19 There is also a sermon described by Levison in his*England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946, pp. 302-14. This sermon, though probably written in France sometime in the eighth century, has Insular connections. Among other things the text exhibits a low level of knowledge of the classical pagan gods (the author thinks Venus is a man), but it also heavily demonizes the euhemeristic interpretation of the gods: "Et Deana scimus quia mulier fuit, in quem diabulus habitabit et divinacionis multas faciebat. Sed post sua morte in Epheso pro dea colebant eam..." . (Levison, p. 311).

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Saxon England. It is ultimately Ælfric with whom I am most concerned, and part of my present purpose is to situate him on the spectrum sketched above. But before we turn to a closer look at *De Falsis Diis*, it is necessary to define more sharply the most extreme positions taken by writers on the subject; it is possible to do this on the basis of two texts that are each in their own way important to our analysis of Ælfric's homily on the false gods.

The two authors in question occupy opposite ends of the scale with respect to their radically divergent approaches to demonization and euhemerization. They are equally far removed from one another both temporally and geographically. Martin of Braga, author of *De Correctione Rusticorum*, was Bishop of Galicia in the late sixth century. Snorri Sturluson, whose *Prose Edda* is most germane to this discussion, was of course an important intellectual and political figure in thirteenth century Iceland.

It should first be pointed out that there is much scholarly controversy surrounding Snorri and his works, especially his *Gylfaginning*, (*Deluding of Gylfi*). The extent of this controversy is made most evident in Gotfried Lorenz's edition of and commentary on the text.[20] How much of the *Gylfaginning* and its prologue is authentically Snorri's? Did Snorri really believe in the pagan gods or not? Did anyone still believe in them in thirteenth century Iceland? If so, to what extent? Is the *Gylfaginning* a work of allegorized Christian propaganda directed against active heathen cult? These are only some of the questions that Lorenz addresses and for which he summarizes past and current scholarship. The present discussion

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[20] Gottfried Lorenz, *Snorri Sturluson Gylfaginning*. Texte zur Forschung 48. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984.

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assumes that Snorri's text is not a veiled Christian allegorization of North Germanic mythology, but rather a work that reflects an author gifted with a tremendous poetic imagination, and one who appreciated these stories and the culture they sprang from.

One aspect of the *Gylfaginning* on which there does exist a general scholarly consensus is the view that in both prologue and narrative frame the gods are portrayed, and meant to be interpreted, in terms of euhemerization.[21] Snorri's approach to the pagan gods constitutes a humanistic application of euhemerism that is entirely devoid of any suggestion of demonization. According to the account in his Prologue to the *Gylfaginning*, the forgetfulness of post-diluvian men was responsible for their drifting away from worship of Almighty God, and it was because an almost innocent lack of spiritual understanding that men took to worshipping the natural marvels of creation rather than their Creator Himself. The *Æsir* themselves were marvelous, beautiful and gifted men and women, who, like the Patriarchs and other early figures of Biblical history, were very long-lived, and in their wanderings north from Asia they impressed all whom they encountered: "Through whatever lands they went," says Snorri, "such glorious exploits were related of them that they were looked on as gods rather than men."[22] Thus far Snorri's handling of the pagan gods is, *mutatis mutandis*, not radically different from Isidore's. That is to say that he claims that they were men, and proceeds to situate them temporally and geographically in world history. Snorri, however, departs from the expected Christian pattern by omitting the one concession

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21 "Weitgehend Überstimmung besteht darin, daß in der Rahmenerzählung (und im >Prolog<) die Götter in euhemeristischen Sinne verstanden und dargestellt werden," 34.
22 "En hvar sem þeir fóru yfir lond, þá var ágæti mikit frá þeim sagt, svá at þeir þóttu líkari goðum en monnum." Lorenz, p. 44.

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that even Isidore does not neglect to make: that the ultimate worship of these men as gods was at the instigation of the Devil. Snorri's Æsir are tricksters; they possess the gift of foresight and know magic, but the devil would seem to have had nothing whatsoever to do with the foundation of their cult. What distinguishes Snorri's adaptation of the euhemeristic concept is the fact that these gods are "self-euhemerizing". In the final chapter of the *Gylfaginning* the Æsir decide among themselves to perpetuate the impression their appearance has made upon Gylfi.[23] They adopt the identities and placenames used in their deluding of Gylfi, in order that later men should not fail to identify them with the gods of their stories. Snorri's treatment of the Germanic pagan gods, then, earns him a place on our spectrum that is as close to the purely euhemeristic pole as one can imagine.[24]

How different, indeed opposite, is the approach taken by the sixth century Bishop of Galicia, Martin of Braga (ca. 520-80). Martin wrote the

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23 "Því næst heyrþi Gangleri dyni mikla hvern veg frá sér ok leit út á hlið sér, ok þá er hann sétz meirr um, þá stendr hann úti á sléttum velli, sér þá ønga holl ok ønga borg. Gengr hann þa leið sína braut ok kemr heim í ríki sitt ok segir þau tíðindi er hann hefir sét ok heyrt. Ok eptir honum sagði hverr maðr oðrum þessar sogur.

En æsir setjask þá á tal ok ráða ráðum sínum ok minnask á þessar frásagnir allar, er honum váru sagðar, ok gefa nofn þessi en somu, er aðr eru nefnd, m≈nnum ok st≈ðum þeim, er þar váru, til þess at þá er langar stundir liði, at menn skyldu ekki ifask í, at allir væri einir þeir æsir, er nú var frá sagt, ok þessir, er þá váru þau somu nofn gefin. Þar var þá Þórr kallaðr ok er sá Àsaþórr enn gamli, [sá er Okuþórr, ok honum eru kend þau stórvirki, er Ektor gerði í Trójo. En þat hyggja menn, at Tyrkir hafi sagt frá Ulixes ok hafi þeir hann kallaðan Loka, þvíat Tyrkir váru hans enir mestu óvinir]." Lorenz, p. 647.

24 The Danish mythographer and historiographer, Saxo Grammaticus (fl. ca. 1150), exhibits a more clearly Christian bias in his account of Thor and Odin, though he too abstains from any explicit attribution of the origin of pagan worship to diabolical influence. He is obviously dismissive of the heathen cults, and characterizes these two gods as follows: "For there were of old certain men versed in sorcery, Thor, namely, and Odin, and many others, who were cunning in contriving marvellous sleights; and they, winning the minds of the simple, began to claim the rank of gods. For, in particular, they ensnared Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in the vainest credulity, and by prompting these lands to worship them, infected them with their imposture." Translation from Oliver Elton, *The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus* (London: David Nutt, 1894), p. 225.

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sermon known as *De Correctione Rusticorum* in response to a request by a fellow Galician Bishop, Polemius of Asturica.[25] We know from the letter that prefaces the sermon that Polemius had asked him for a text he could use *pro castigatione rusticorum:*

> I have received your kind letter (writes Martin), in which you write me that I should send you something on the origin of idols and their sins, or, if I like, a few selections from the abundant material available, in order to chastise the rustics who are still bound by the old pagan superstition and offer more veneration to demons than to God.[26]

Martin's sermon encroaches to some extent upon the genre of catechetical *narratio,* for prior to his treatment of the idols proper he sketches briefly, for the benefit of Polemius' rustic audience, the highlights of Biblical history up to and including the Flood.[27] In the sermon, sections 2 through 5 recount the creation, the fall of the rebel angels, the fall of man and the flood as punishment for man's sins. Section 6 relates, in terms not unlike those Snorri was to adopt in the thirteenthth century, how after the flood man forgot God the Creator and began to worship created things instead. They took as their gods the sun, moon, stars, earth, fire, pools and springs. It is in the next section that Martin combines euhemerism with

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25 Martin himself was from Pannonia (modern day Hungary), and settled in Galicia only after having been a monk in Palestine and traveling widely (see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* Ed. F.L. Cross [London: Oxford University Press, 1958], s.v. "Martin").

26 "Epistolam tuæ sanctæ caritatis accepi, in qua scripsisti ad me, ut pro castigatione rusticorum, qui, adhuc pristina paganorum superstitione detenti, cultum uenerationis plus dæmoniis, quam deo persoluunt, aliqua de origine idolorum et sceleribus ipsorum uel pauca de multis ad te scripta dirigerem." Caspari, p. 1. The translation is C. W. Barlow's, *Iberian Fathers.* Vol. 1, p. 71.

27 On the place of *De Correctione Rusticorum* in this tradition, see especially Virginia Day, "Catechetical *narratio,*" pp. 51-61.

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demonization in a way that radically, albeit not unexpectedly, departs from previous writers on the subject. I quote this section in full not only because it is a passage that Ælfric certainly used in writing his *De Falsis Diis*, but also because it illustrates well one of the significant ways in which Ælfric altered his source. Post-diluvian man had no sooner forgotten God and begun worshipping creation when:

> Then the devil or his ministers, the demons who had been cast out of heaven, seeing that ignorant men had dismissed God their Creator and were mistaking the creatures, began to appear to them in various forms and speak with them and demand of them that they offer sacrifices to them on lofty mountains and in leafy forests and worship them as God, assuming the names of wicked men who had spent their whole lives in crime and sin, so that one claimed to be Jupiter, who had been a soothsayer and involved in so many adulteries that he had taken his own sister, Juno, to wife and had corrupted his daughters, Minerva and Venus, and had even committed foul incest with his nieces and all his female relatives. Another demon called himself Mars, who had sown quarrels and discord. Then another demon chose to name himself Mercury, who had been the crafty inventor of all theft and deceit; to him as though to God men anxious for gain heap up piles of stones for a sacrifice whenever they pass a crossroads. Another demon took to himself the name of Saturn, who had lived amid all sorts of cruelty, even devouring his own sons at their birth. Another demon claimed to be Venus; she had been a prostitute and not only participated in innumerable adulteries, but had even committed incest with her father, Jupiter, and her brother, Mars.[28]

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[28] Barlow, p. 74. "7. Tunc diabolus uel ministri ipsius, dæmones, qui de cælo deiecti sunt, uidentes, ignaros homines, dimisso creatore suo, per creaturas errare, coeperunt se illis in diuersas formas ostendere et loqui cum eis et expetere ab eis, ut in excelsis montibus et in siluis frondosis sacrificia sibi offerrent et ipsos colerunt pro deo, inponentes sibi uocabula sceleratorum hominum, qui in omnibus criminibus et sceleribus suam egerant uitam, ut alius Iouem se esse diceret, qui fuerat magus et in tantis adulteriis incestus, ut

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Notable in this passage is the way in which Martin closes the gap between euhemerization and demonization so as to render it almost nonexistent. Each and every one of the classical deities is introduced as a demon who has assumed the name and identity of men or women remembered for their crimes. Here there is no trace of the "*viri fortes aut urbium conditores*" of Isidore; if the listener remembers anything about their human nature it is their careers as criminals. Under the rhetorical pressure of the almost relentless repetition of the phrases "Alius autem dæmon," "alius deinde dæmon," "alius quoque dæmon" and "alius etiam dæmon," one quickly loses sight of the fact that the gods had been men at all.[29] With Martin then we have established the other extreme pole of the spectrum. His demonization of the origin of the pagan gods is virtually absolute. We turn now to Ælfric, who made extensive use of this text in a sermon of his own.

The reader who approaches Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis* for the first time might reasonably hope to find this homily a fount of information about pagan Germanic myth and cult. The various Anglo-Saxon peoples

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sororem suam haberat uxorem, quæ dicta est Iuno, Mineruam uero et Uenerem, filias suas, corruperit, neptes quoque et omnem parentelam suam turpiter incestauerit. Alius autem dæmon Martem se nominauit, qui fuit litigiorum et discordiæ commissor. Alius deinde dæmon Mercurium se appellare uoluit, qui fuit omnis furti et fraudis dolosus inuentor; qui homines cupidi quasi deo lucri, in quadriuiis transeuntes, iactatis lapidibus aceruos petrarum pro sacrificio reddunt. Alius quoque dæmon Saturni sibi nomen adscripsit, qui, in omni crudelitate uiuens, etiam nascentes suos filios deuorabat. Alius etiam dæmon Uenerem se esse confinxit, quæ fuit mulier meretrix. Non solum cum innumerabilibus adulteris, sed etiam cum patre suo, Ioue, et cum fratre suo, Marte, meretricata est." Caspari, pp. 8-9.

[29] Compare also Augustine, *De civitate Dei* Bk. 7.18 (CCSL 47, pp. 200-01) where Augustine attributes pagan worship as much to the lies of poets as to the deception of demons: "A far more credible account of these gods is given, when it is said that they are men, and that to each one of them sacred rites and solemnities were instituted, according to his particular genius, manners, actions, circumstances; which rites and solemnities, by gradually creeping through the souls of men, which are like demons, and eager for things which yield them sport, were spread far and wide; the poets adorning them with lies, and false spirits seducing men to receive them." Translation Dods, p. 332; emphasis mine.

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themselves had only been converted a few hundred years earlier, and Anglo-Saxon folklore and magic is full of (mostly cryptic) references to the pagan gods and pagan practice. Even if the three hundred years or so of Christianity had obliterated much of the memory of Anglo-Saxon paganism, thousands of pagan Scandinavians had invaded and then stayed to settle in England and there is much evidence for peaceful contact as well as conflict. Some of these invaders were soon converted,[30] but their relatives in Scandinavia were still pagan during Ælfric's lifetime and there was easy travel and communication between "pagan" Scandinavia and "Christian" England. Thus we may assume that an inquisitive Anglo-Saxon could have found out a good deal about Germanic paganism if he had wished to. Given these expectations, Ælfric's homily is a sad disappointment; we may recognize that a devout and deeply orthodox Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monk would not have had much sympathy for pagan cults, but Ælfric devotes a good portion of his homily to attacking the admittedly exotic familial and sexual lives of the Graeco-Roman pantheon; he mentions the "Danish" gods by their Danish names and he is completely silent about the historical fact of "Anglo-Saxon" paganism. Having discovered how reticent Ælfric is, the investigator is naturally inclined to give up on this homily–to curse silently Benedictine prudishness–and to turn to other, more promising sources of information. I would argue, however, that if we look at Ælfric's homily carefully, if we read it with other comparable texts in the tradition in mind—particularly Martin of Braga and Snorri—we will

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[30] See for example Dorothy Whitelock, "The Conversion of the Eastern Danelaw," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 12 (1942): 159-76. For the possible sources of knowledge of Germanic pagan cult among the Anglo-Saxons (in particular Ælfric), see A. L. Meaney, "Æthelweard, Ælfric, the Norse Gods and Northumbria." *Journal of Religious History* 6 (1970): 105-32.

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see that Ælfric's language is very carefully chosen and that both what he says and what he does not say is revealing.

Martin of Braga's sermon stands out as a major source for Ælfric's homily.[31] Professor Pope confirms this in his edition of the text by discussing in a general way Ælfric's debt to *De Correctione Rusticorum* and noting in his apparatus those passages that exhibit a strong influence.[32] *De Falsis Diis* is of course well known among students of Old English; it is often excerpted and included in the anthologies, and as such sufficiently familiar to make an extended review of its contents unnecessary. It bears pointing out, however, that the section of his homily that deals specifically with the pagan gods is only a fraction of the whole: the first 200 lines or so contain the catechetical material as well as the account of the origins of idolatry, but the bulk of the homily is devoted to a long series of narrative exempla taken from the Bible and other sources. Each one of these stories illustrates the diabolical nature of the pagan gods and idols, the ineffectiveness of magic and delusion inspired by the Devil, and the ultimate victory of the Israelites and Christians over all who follow heathen practice.

But while Ælfric probably derived the overall structure for this homily from Martin of Braga, his more or less direct borrowings are restricted to the first 200 lines, especially lines 72-180. He follows Martin in content and order of presentation, but he does so in anything but a slavish manner. In typically Ælfrician fashion he adapts his source

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31 S. Bugge was the first to make the identification, as cited in Caspari: "Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen Heft 1 S. 11 Anm. 1" (p. 114, note 2).

32 John C. Pope, ed. *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection* EETS 260 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1969; vol. 2, p. 671.

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material, amplifying, abridging and reordering it critically and intelligently.[33] As we are concerned in particular with Ælfric's position on the spectrum of euhemerization and demonization, let us now take a brief but closer look at his incorporation of these concepts in *De Falsis Diis*.

For the sake of this discussion I would divide the relevant lines into six passages of unequal length. The first comprises lines 72-81, and constitutes Ælfric's account of the origin of idolatry: "hæþengyld" was unknown before the Flood, and only came into being after the destruction of the Tower of Babel and dispersion of mankind. It is here, too, that Ælfric mentions for the first time the influence of the Devil (l.78). As Pope indicates in his apparatus, this is in part suggested by a passage in the *De Correctione Rusticorum*:[34]

> [1] We do not read anywhere in books that mankind set up idolatry during all the time that was before Noah's flood, until the giants wrought the marvellous tower after Noah's flood, and to them God gave as many languages as there were workmen. Then when they had dispersed into faraway lands, and mankind had multiplied, then they were deceived by the old Devil who had betrayed Adam long before, so that they perversely made gods for themselves, and forsook the Creator who had fashioned them as men.

Section 2 (lines 82-98) describes how men came to worship as gods the sun, moon and stars, as well as the elements earth, water and fire. This,

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[33] Thus, for example, he greatly expands Martin's brief discourse on the garden of Eden and man's Fall, outlining in some detail the contrast between man's former bliss in the earthly paradise, and his woeful life of toil after having been cast out of it. This particular expansion culminates in an eschatological admonition, no trace of which is found in Martin of Braga's sermon.

[34] The passages from Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis* that follow are my own rather literal translations. I refer the reader to the excerpts on pp. 141-47 below for the original Old English text and the corresponding passages from Martin of Braga's sermon.

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too, was suggested by Martin's text, though here again Ælfric has expanded what he found in his source:

[2] They took it for wisdom to worship the sun and the moon as gods on account of their shining brightness, and they offered sacrifices to them, and forsook their Creator. Some men also said of the shining stars that they were gods, and they worshipped them eagerly. Some believed in fire on account of its sudden heat, and some in water, and they worshipped these things as gods; some also [believed] in earth, because it nourished all things. But they might have realized, if they had had the power of discretion, that He is the true God who created all things, because of His great goodness, for the enjoyment of us men. Those created things act as their Creator ordained for them, and may do nothing except by the Lord's consent, for there is no creator other than the one true God, and we worship Him with true faith, saying with our mouths and with conviction of heart that He is the one God who created all things.

Section three is the longest (99-165), and it contains the attack on the Graeco-Roman deities with accompanying mention of their Danish equivalents. The parallel citations on the last pages of this chapter (pp. 141-47) illustrate the points of correspondence between Ælfric and Martin, but they also provide graphic witness to Ælfric's departure from his source: he has removed the many references to demons in Martin. I've marked a further subdivision (3b) within this long section, namely Ælfric's famous correction of the Danish "error" with respect to Þorr's parentage of Oðin; needless to say, this has no parallel in Martin of Braga.

[3] Nevertheless the heathen would not be satisfied with so few gods, but they took to worshipping as gods various giants and men who had been strong in worldly power and awe-inspiring during their lives, though they had lived foul lives. There was a man, named Saturn,

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living in the isle of Crete, who was so violent and bloodthirsty that he destroyed his own sons at their birth and in an unfatherly way consumed their flesh as meat. Nevertheless he allowed one to live, though he had destroyed all his brothers previously; this one was called Jove, [and he was] violent and powerful. He drove his father out of the aforementioned island and would have killed him if he returned. This Jove was so leacherous that he took his own sister to wife; she was called Juno, and was a very exalted goddess. Their daughters were Minerva and Venus. Then in addition the father committed fornication, and sinfully defiled many of his kin. These wicked men were the greatest gods worshipped by the heathens, and they embraced them as deities; but the son was nevertheless even more highly honored in their foul paganism. This Jove is the most highly honored of all those that the pagans took for gods in their error; and among some peoples he is called Êor, whom the Danish people love most. His son is called Mars, who always raised strife, and he would often stir up conflict and enmity. The heathens worshipped him as an exalted god, and as often as they went to war, or were preparing for battle, they made sacrifices beforehand to this god. They believed that he might help them in battle, because he had loved battle [when alive]. There was a man called Mercury while alive, who was very crafty and deceitful in his deeds, and he loved also thievery and deception. Then the heathens made him into a great god, and offered sacrifies to him at crossroads and brought him oblations on high hills. This god was venerated among all the heathen, and by the Danes he is called by another name: Oðon.

[3b] Now the Danes say in their error that Jove, whom they call Êor, was Mercury's son, whom they call Oðon; but they are not right, for we read in books, both pagan and Christian ones, that the savage Jove was in truth Saturn's son, and those books may not be dismissed [in which] the ancient pagans wrote thus about them; and also in the passions of martyrs we encounter it thus written. There was a woman named Venus, she was Jove's daughter, [and she was] so abandoned in leachery that she had her father, and her brother too, and various others in the wise of a prostitute; but the heathen

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> worship her as a holy goddess, as the daughter of their god. Many other gods were devised in various ways, and also goddesses, [and] held in great honor throughout the world to the detriment of mankind; but these are the most eminent, though they lived foully. The deceitful Devil, who always deceives mankind, brought those heathen into that extreme error, so that they took as gods vile men, who had loved sin, which was pleasing to the Devil, so that their worshippers loved their blasphemy as well, and became alienated from the Almighty God, who despises sin, and loves purity.

In treating the names for the days of the week Ælfric follows Martin's cue:

> [4] They then assigned to the sun and moon, and to the other gods, each his own day: first to the sun *sunnandæg*, and then to the moon *monandæg*; and the third day they dedicated to Mars, their god of battle, in order that he protect them. The fourth day they gave to their great god, the aforementioned Mercury, that he help them. The fifth day they celebrated greatly in honor of Jove, the greatest god. The sixth day they assigned to the shameless goddess called Venus, and *Fricg* in Danish. The seventh day–the last nevertheless, though he was eldest– they gave to Saturn the Ancient, the father of the gods, that he help them.

Ælfric departs from his source text in two notable ways. He begins his list of the days with Sunday and Monday (not in Martin), and he tones down considerably Martin's condemnation of the heathens who stoop so low as to name the days of the week after these demons. This first change raises an implicit expectation: having begun his list with the Old English forms of Sunday and Monday, one might reasonably look for him to carry through with the other names, but his only apparent concession to this expectation is the Danish equivalent he provides for the sixth day of the week, Fricg. The second change Ælfric makes in this passage—his omission of Martin's

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equation of the pagan names with demon worship—must in part be due to Ælfric's own attitude toward the English names for the days of the week.[35] Pope comments:

> Evidently he had no wish, as did some churchmen, to abandon the names, and to remind the English of their ancient heathenism would have introduced an unnecessary complication at best; yet his silence attracts attention.[36]

From this point on there is only faint evidence of any borrowing from Martin's sermon, but the following passage—man's worship of the stars, sun, moon and planets— were apparently inspired by Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*:

> [5] They wished to honor the gods still further, and gave to them stars, as though they had them in their power: the seven stars–sun, moon, and the other five–that journey ever against heaven towards the east, but heaven is always turning them back again. But the stars shone in the the heavens at the very beginnings of the world, before the wicked gods had been born, or chosen as gods.

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[35] Section 8 of Martin: "Non tamen sine permissione dei nocent, quia deum habent iratum et non ex tot corde in fide Christi credunt, sed sunt dubii in tantum, ut nomina ipsa dæmoniorum in singulos dies nominent, et appellent diem Martis et Mercurii et Iouis et Ueneris et Saturni, qui nullum diem fecerunt, sed fuerunt homines pessimi et scelerati in gente Græcorum." "They do not harm them without God's consent, however; for the infidels have angered God and do not believe wholeheartedly in the faith of Christ, but are such disbelievers that they place the very names of the demons on each day of the week, and speak of the day of Mars and of Mercury and of Jupiter and of Venus and of Saturn, who never created a day, but were evil and wicked men among the race of the Greeks." (Caspari, p. 10; translation from Barlow, p. 75)

[36] Pope, p. 716, note to lines 166-80.

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The final section according to the division adopted above begins with lines that are paralleled in Martin, and concludes with a passage possibly reminiscent of Isidore:

> [6] They also fashioned images to the venerable gods, some of refined gold, and they designed them with skill, some of white silver, and some, too, of stone, and others of various materials, according to what their powers were; and they raised up dwellings for them, which they called temples, and therein they placed their beloved gods, bound in lead, and they prayed to them. Then those devils, who had before deceived them, saw these fair idols and they flew into them, and through the idols they spoke to the poor men and thus misled them with their lies, and brought their souls to the torment of Hell. Smiths wrought them with subtle skill, and often sold the gods of silver, some at high cost, on account of their workmanship, some more cheaply, in accordance with their worth. And all the while that he smote the half-wrought god he did not stand in awe of the idol, but as soon as it was finished, he worshipped it as a god.

It is here that we find only the second mention of the devil's involvement, and it is rather similar to Isidore's view: when the demons (who before had tricked them) saw that men worshipped such idols, they rushed to inhabit them, from where they might speak to the heathen and thus endanger their souls.

At this point we might ask where Ælfric is to be situated on our hypothetical spectrum. First, like Martin he notes the existence of nature worship, and then adduces the euhemeristic explanation to account for the men who were raised to the status of gods when the worship of moon, sun and other natural objects no longer proved satisfactory. Also following Martin, he spares no effort to characterize the classical gods as criminals

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and wicked sinners, though, like Lactantius and Isidore, he allows for the possibility that some had been powerful and noteworthy men (lines 101-3: "men þa þe mihtige wæron on woruldlicum geþincðum": "men who had been strong in worldly power and awe-inspiring during their lives"). And yet, contrary to his model, Martin of Braga, Ælfric stops short of demonizing the pagan gods. What emerges from this brief analysis of Ælfric's text is that his manipulation of the two concepts under discussion here differs quite markedly from that of the author of *De Correctione Rusticorum*. As we have seen, Ælfric makes only moderate use of the demonization hypothesis where the advent of the pagan gods is concerned. Moreover, he avoids mentioning the Anglo-Saxon names for the days of the week in a way that calls attention to itself. There may in fact be a correlation between these two "silences," for together they render Ælfric's treatment of the gods less unfavorable than one might expect given his source. We might well ask why Ælfric toned down the demonization of the pagan gods, and why he was so reticent when it came to mentioning the specifically Anglo-Saxon forms of the Germanic pantheon.

Before any attempt is made to answer these questions, it bears pointing out that Ælfric probably did not possess detailed knowledge of pagan practice, be it that of his own ancestors or of the contemporary Danes. Knowledge of the English pagan gods seems to have been fading fast by Ælfric's time, though he will certainly have been aware of the few details Bede gives us, for he knew both the *Historica Ecclesiastica* and *De Temporum Ratione*. Audrey Meaney has surveyed the evidence for the cult of Woden in Anglo-Saxon England and concludes that Ælfric must have derived his knowledge of pagan ritual (such as offerings to Woden on hills and other high places) from a Danish source, possibly through a

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Northumbrian channel.[37] But that does not rule out the likelihood that Ælfric would have made the connection between the Danish god Oðin and the Anglo-Saxon deity Woden. His text in fact seems to imply at least that he did make this connection, and that he expected his audience might do so as well.[38]

One reason for these striking silences has already been suggested: Ælfric's approach may simply have been a common sense one. Having no interest himself in changing the names for the days of the week, he was able to evade the issue partially by avoiding mention of the days that would have evoked the most explicit associations with the Anglo-Saxon pagan past: Tiwes-dæg, Wodnes-dæg and Þunres-dæg.[39] Given his conservative attitude, the deletion of Martin's comments here—comments that would have implicated both his entire audience and himself in demon worship—is entirely logical. The underlying and implicit import of this entire section, however, is that the practice of naming the days of the week after the pagan gods was suspect at best. Ælfric chose to include this in his exposition, and we may perhaps see in his addition of Sunday and Monday (not found in his source) an attempt to make the same point but with "safer" materials: cults

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[37] See n. 30.

[38] That it was a likely, if not obvious, connection to make is borne out by scribal additions in the margins of the manuscript containing Wulfstan's version of the homily. The words "Þor unde Þornes dæg" (Thor, whence Thursday") and "Oþon unde Wodones deg" (Oþon, whence Wednesday), appear in the margin of the late eleventh-century MS Bodleian, Hatton 113. See Bethurum, p. 223.

[39] An interesting hint at Ælfric's "real" attitude towards the Old English names for the days of the week is found in another of his homilies, *Dominica Palmarum De Passione Domini*: "Þa com se Hælend on assan sittende into Hierusalem, ær ðam symbel-dæg, and geheold ða Easter-tíd æfter ðære ealdan æ. On afnunge hi æton ealle ætsomne, on ðam fiften dæge ðe **ge** Þunres hatað" ("Then came the Savior sitting on an Ass into Jerusalem, and celebrated Easter according to the old law. In the evening they all ate together, on the fifth day, which **you** call Thor's"; emphasis mine). The text is from Benjamin Thorpe ed. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*. London: Ælfric Society, 1844-46; vol. 2, p. 242.

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of the Sun and Moon must certainly have belonged to a more distant pagan past than those of the euhemerized gods. Moreover, mention of Sunday and Monday at this point provides for a logical transition to the subject matter of lines 181-89: pagan worship of the stars and planets.

Professor Pope suggests that discretion may have played a role here, that is to say that it would not have been in Ælfric's interest to remind his audience of their heathen past. But if his audience was, as Audrey Meaney argues, largely ignorant of that past, and hardly inclined to relapse into heathenism, how much harm could inclusion of the Anglo-Saxon names have done? An answer to this question may suggest itself if we consider the context and audience of *De Falsis Diis*. Without dwelling on the subject at any length, it seems safe to conclude that Ælfric wrote this sermon for an audience consisting largely of layfolk. The fact that it exists in the vernacular is a partial indication of this, but its catechetical overtones and apparent purpose—condemnation of magic, superstition and idolatry—together suggest that his listeners belonged to the laity. The piece does not strike one as the kind designed for private reading or public recitation in the refectory of a monastery. It seems not unreasonable to suggest, then, that Ælfric's hesitance to name the gods may have been a consequence of his writing for this lay audience.

Let me illustrate my point with two examples that provide an instructive contrast to this passage in *De Falsis Diis*, and constitute different attitudes that a Christian Anglo-Saxon might take towards the former Anglo-Saxon gods. The origin of the names for the days of the week was a matter of interest to another English churchman, roughly contemporary with Ælfric, namely Byrhtferth of Ramsey. He devotes a sizable passage to the subject in his *Enchiridion* or Manual:

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Iu dagum Romani 7 eac Angli gehalgedon on þisra tungla gemynde heora dagas; 7 þæne forman dæg hig heton Sunnandæg, forþan heo ys ealra tungla wlitegost; 7 se dæg wæs ealra daga fyrmest on eora dagum 7 nu ys on urum timan gode lof, ealles. Êone oðerne dæg hig heton Monandæg, forþon he ys beorhtost æfter þære sunnan. Îæne þriddan *Marte* hig getealdon, 7 þone feorðan *Mercurio*, 7 þone fiftan Ioue, 7 þone syxtan Venere 7 þone seofoðan *Saturnus*. Hig wendon, ure yldran, þæt hig hæfdon gast of þære sunnan 7 lichaman of þam monan, 7 andgit of *Mercurio*, 7 of *Venere* lust, 7 blod of marte 7 gemetgunge of *Ioue*, 7 wætan of *Saturno*. Swylc wæs hwilon ealdra witan ungewitt: Gode lof þæt iunge þæne dwolscipe forhicgað. Êæs Sunnandæges nama wæs of þære sunnan 7 þæs Monandæges of þæs monan 7 Tiwesdæges of *Marte*, *Iouis* sunu, þæs scyndles; 7 Wodnesdæges of *Mercurio*, *Maia* sunu, 7 *þ*unresdæge of *Ioue*, *Saturnus* sunu; 7 Sæternesdæg of *Saturno*, *Iouis* fæder. Ac se arwurða biscop Siluester þisra daga naman awende on *feriam*; 7 cwæð þæt se Sunnandæg wære Godes dæg 7 <gecigde hyt> þæne forman dæg; <7 þone Monandæg> *feriam secundum*, þæt byð se oðer restedæg; 7 ealle þa oðre he genemde swa we hig on lyden cigeað.[40]

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[40] Crawford, S. J., ed. *Byrhtferth's Manual (A.D. 1011)*. EETS 177. London: Oxford University Press, 1929; p. 130: "In former times the Romans, and likewise the English, consecrated their days in commemoration of these heavenly bodies, and the first day they named the day of the sun because it is the most beautiful of all planets, and that day was the first of all days among their days, and is so now in our time in every way, praise be to God. The second day they named the day of the moon because after the sun it is the brightest. The third day they allotted to Mars and the fourth to Mercury, the fifth to Jove and the sixth to Venus, and the seventh to Saturn. Our ancestors believed that they received spirit from the sun and body from the moon, and understanding from Mercury and libido from Venus, blood from Mars, temperance from Jove, and moisture from Saturn. Such was once the folly of the ancient wisemen, praise be to God that the young reject that error. Sunday's name comes from the sun, Monday's from the moon, and Tuesday's from Mars, son of the shameful Jove, and Wednesday's from Mercury the son of Maia, and Thursday's from Jove, Saturn's son, and Saturday from Saturn, Jove's father. But the venerable Bishop Sylvester changed the names of these days to *feriam*, and said that Sunday should be God's day and called it "the first day." (dominica), and Monday *feriam secundum*, that is the second holiday, and all the other days he named as we refer to them in Latin."

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Here Byrhtferth explains how both the Romans and the English came to name the days after their deities; he gives first the Roman gods and then their Anglo-Saxon equivalents. For the present discussion I would point out that Byrhtferth was a monk writing for a clerical audience (probably his own students), and his exposition of these names is anything but an anti-pagan polemic. Rather it is characterized by an almost dispassionate objectivity: as a Christian man of learning addressing his fellow monks and pupils, Byrhtferth points out the folly of their pagan past. His ancestors (*ure yldran*) not only named the days after pagan gods, but, says Byrhtferth, they believed they derived certain qualities or physical attributes from each one: the spirit from the sun, the body from the moon, intellect from Mercury, libido from Venus, blood from Mars and temperance from Jove. "Swylc wæs hwilon ealdra witan ungewitt, gode lof þæt iunge þæne dwolscipe forhicgað": "Such was once the folly of the ancient wisemen, praise be to God that the young reject that error." Byrhtferth does not hesitate to spell out the Anglo-Saxon equivalents to the euhemerized classical gods: "Tiwesdæg," "Wodnesdæg" and "Þunresdæg" all find their place in this list. We may understand how it may have been easier for Byrhtferth to be so forthright when we consider the passage that immediately follows this list, for it explains how the venerable Bishop Sylvester[41] was responsible for replacing the old Latin pagan names with their new Christian designations: *Dominica dies, Secunda feria*, etc. Implicit in this is the understanding that using names such as *Wodnesdæg* is something that the lay folk do, while Byrhtferth and his fellow monks follow the Latin usage. Thus, while writing in a Christian context for a

41 314-335? St. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, recipient of the Donation of Constantine.

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securely and devoutly Christian audience, Byrhtferth could afford to be candid and straightforward.

My second example has nothing to do with the days of the week, but it does involve one of the most important deities omitted by Ælfric in *De Falsis Diis*, namely Woden. The following are lines taken from the Old English *Maxims I* in the Exeter Book:

> Woden worhte weos, wuldor alwalda,
> rume roderas; þæt is rice god,
> sylf soðcyning, sawla nergend,
> se us eal forgeaf þæt we on lifgaþ, 135
> ond eft æt þam ende eallum wealdeð
> monna cynne. Þæt is meotud sylfa.[42]

The context of this passage is Christian, as is the sentiment. And whoever wrote these lines seems to have done so with Psalm 96:5 in mind, for they express the very same contrast between the gods of the heathens and the Lord God who made heaven ("Omnes dii gentium demonia, Dominus autem cælos fecit"). "Woden made idols, (but) the Almighty (made) heaven, the vast firmament." This poet does not cloud the issue with a reference to the classical gods. His language is forceful, direct, and utterly dismissive of Woden, chief god of the Anglo-Saxon pagan pantheon.

With this in mind we return to Ælfric, and the question of why he shied away from naming Woden, among others, in a context that cries out for it, but a context too that was extremely critical of the pagan gods. A possibility that does not seem to have been considered by critics of *De*

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42 "Woden made idols, (but) the Almighty (made) heaven, / the vast firmament; That is Mighty God / Himself the true king, savior of souls, / who gave us all that we live on, / and again at the end will rule all mankind. That is the Ruler himself." ASPR III, p.161.

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Falsis Diis is that Ælfric's decision to leave the Anglo-Saxon gods out of his sermon may in part have been motivated by political considerations. One of the most striking uses of euhemerization in Anglo-Saxon England is the appearance of Woden in the West Saxon and Mercian royal genealogies. In fact, the only exception to this among the surviving Anglo-Saxon Royal genealogies is Essex.

If we consider the fact that Ælfric had in Aldorman Æthelweard (died ca. 1000) and his son Æthelmær (died ca. 1017) two extremely influential patrons, who themselves belonged to the same royal line that claimed Woden as an ancestor, then perhaps Ælfric's discretionary omissions may be seen in a new light. We know that these two noblemen commissioned a number of translations from Ælfric, in particular his *Lives of the Saints*, an expanded first series of the *Catholic Homilies*, a copy of the second series of *Catholic Homilies*, the Book of Joshua, and portions of Genesis. Æthelweard was an important political figure in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, but he was also a pious Christian and a man with marked literary inclinations. Of greatest interest to us now is his Latin *Chronicon Æthelweardi*, for the composition of which he drew upon Bede and the *Old English Chronicle*, and in which he incorporated much that is thought to be his own.[43] Throughout the *Chronicon* he has frequent cause to mention Woden; in fact, some eight times in all. In each of these instances Woden figures in the pedigree of an Anglo-Saxon king.[44] Æthelweard employs the euhemeristic argument twice. In one of them he

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[43] Ed. A. Campbell, *Chronicon Æthelweardi: The Chronicle of Æthelweard*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.

[44] E.g. for the year 547, Ida King of Northumbria, whose family derives its royalty and nobility from Woden; 597, Ceolwulf of the West Saxons, whose family derives establishment from Woden; 755, Offa succeeds to throne of West Saxons, traces his lineage back to Woden.

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attributes the folly of Woden worship to the Scandinavians, though the line he is discussing is that of the Anglo-Saxons. Here he speaks of Woden as the great-great-grandfather of Hengest and Horsa, and one who "was king of a multitude of the barbarians." He adds:

> The heathen northern peoples are overwhelmed in so great a seduction that they worship him as a god to the present day, that is to say the Danes, Norwegians and also the Suebi.[45]

But the pagans he speaks of in an earlier passage are not Danes, but Anglo-Saxons, his own ancestors:

> They [Hengest and Horsa] were descendants of Woden, a king of the Barbarians. And after his death the pagans, honouring him as a god with respect not fit to be mentioned, offered [him] sacrifice in order to have victory or be courageous, and so did the conquered man, as mankind is more prone to believe in what it can see.[46]

Æthelweard's approach to Woden is entirely euhemeristic. He points out the delusion of his ancestors and the contemporary Scandinavian pagans, but at the same time Woden occupies an important and dignified position in the genealogy of his ancestors. In fact, Æthelweard's dedicatory epistle underlines his personal awareness of his own past–an awareness that goes beyond his interests as a historiographer–for in this preface he takes care to delineate his own relationship to the woman to whom he dedicates the *Chronicle*: Abbess Matilda of Essen. She, says Æthelweard, is descended

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45 "[H]i nepotes fuere Vuoddan regis barbarorum. Quem post infanda dignitate ut deum honorantes, sacrificium obtulerunt pagani uictoriæ causa siue uirtutis, diuictusque, ut humanitas sæpius credit hoc, quod videt." Campbell, p. 7.

46 "In tanta etenim seductione oppressi aquilonales increduli ut deum colunt usque in hodiernam diem, viz. Dani, Northmanni quoque, et Sueui." Campbell, p. 9.

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from King Alfred, while he himself is descended from the latter's brother, Æthelred.

One need not assume that Æthelweard or his son Æthelmær must necessarily have belonged to the audience of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*. It is sufficient to note that the sermon was composed for public consumption, and that among his listeners there might indeed have been some who, like Ælfric himself, were close to Aldorman Æthelweard. The thrust of my suggestion–and it remains a suggestion only–is that Ælfric may have exercised tact in order to avoid confrontation or insult. He may have felt that Byrhtferth's approach was not appropriate (his was not a monkish audience), and he clearly avoids the blatantly condemnatory stance we have seen in *Maxims I*, in which Woden is implicitly identified as one of the "dæmonia gentium." Ælfric's strategy seems to be that of evasion. As one can see, his exposition of the gods focuses on the classical deities, and though for the most part he leaves it up to his listeners to provide for themselves the *interpretatio Romana*, he nevertheless steers them in this respect by pointing the finger at the Danes. In short, Ælfric may have decided against bringing Woden into his explication in any explicit way in order to avoid embarassing associations. This is as likely an explanation for his discretion as any put forward thus far.[47]

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[47] Ælfric's awareness of his audience–in particular of men like Æthelweard and Æthelmær–exerted an influence on his rhetorical choices in writing other texts, as Malcolm Godden has recently demonstrated. In his article, "Money, Power and Morality in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*ASE* 19 [1990]), Godden argues convincingly that Ælfric took great pains to mitigate the severe biblical criticism of the wealthy by, among other things, developing terminology to distinguish between the merely rich and the "proud" rich. "This is Ælfric at his most resourceful," writes Godden, "using all his knowledge of varying traditions and all the advantages of discreet silence and emphasis to present his own picture without ever quite repudiating biblical and patristic authority altogether" (p. 63). And further: "Ælfric's interest in defending the moral position of the rich is to be related to his involvement with the wealthy landowning class and his awareness of their criditable part in the revival and maintenance of the monasteries" (65). It is just such an awareness, I would

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Scholars looking for the roots of a humanistic approach to the Germanic pagan gods in Ælfric are bound to be disappointed: he was no Snorri. It is certainly true that Ælfric provides no specific information on the Anglo-Saxon gods. But he does avoid extreme condemnation and the explicit association of the pagan gods with demons that characterizes so much of Patristic rhetoric with respect to the gods, a tradition graphically illustrated by Ælfric's most immmediate source, Martin of Braga.

Interpreting silences remains a difficult and tentative endeavor, but it seems reasonable that if Ælfric knew or cared little about the pagan gods of his ancestors, he was nonetheless sensitive to the fact that powerful Anglo-Saxon noblemen and kings, his own patrons among them, based their own claim to authority on pagan genealogies and descent from those former gods. As I have said above, Ælfric's homily has little to offer by way of overt information on pagan practice, but it does tell us something about the Anglo-Saxon culture of which he was a member. He chose to be silent about a topic which might well have offended powerful men. Admirers of Ælfric may choose to believe this silence was coincidental, the result perhaps of casual ignorance about the long dead past, and of course we can never know that this is not indeed the case. But texts like Æthelweard's, including the many royal genealogies, which circulated in the cultural milieu of Ælfric, reflect both a good deal of knowledge of and interest in the pagan past and an implicitly humanistic, euhemeristic view of the gods of old. It is characteristic of Benedictine thought to avoid conflict rather than confront and crush even a pagan adversary. I myself would argue that Ælfric's silence and discretion reflect such a rhetorical strategy. This is

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argue, that lies behind Ælfric's treatment of the Anglo-Saxon pagan pantheon in *De Falsis Diis*.

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perhaps what lies at the bottom of his adaptation of his source materials, and renders his position on the spectrum of euhemerization and demonization rather more ambiguous than one might expect. Behind Ælfric's silence we can catch a glimpse of the kind of "humanistic" speculation that was to find its fullest development in the work of Snorri Sturluson.

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[1] Ælfric: *De Falsis Diis*

Nu [ne] ræde we on bocum þæt man arærde hæþengyld
on eallum þam fyrste ær noes flode,
oðþæt þa entas worhtan þone [wundorlican] stypel
æfter noes flode, and hym swa feala gereorda
God þar forgeaf swa þæra wyrhtena wæs.
Ða þa hi toferdon to fyrlenum landum,
and mancynn þa weox, **þa wurdon hi bepæhte**
þurh þone ealdan deofol þe adam ær beswac,
swa þæt hi worhton wolice him godas,
and þone scyppend forsawon þe hy gesceop to mannum.

Martin of Braga: *De Correctione Rusticorum*

¶ 6: Post diluvium iterum recuperatum
est genum humanum per tres filios
Noe, reservatos cum uxoribus suis. Et cum
coepisset multitudo subcrescens mundum
implere, obliviscentes iterum homines
Creatore, colere creatures.[1]

[2]

Hi namon þa [to] wisdome þæt hi wurþodon him for godas
þa sunnan and þone monan, for heora scinendan beorhtnysse,
and him lac offrodan, and forletan heora scyppend.
Sume menn eac sædon be þam scinendum steorrum
þæt hi godas wæron, and wurþodan hy [georne].
Sume hi gelyfdon on fyr for his færlicum bryne,

¶ 6: Alii adorabant solem, alii lunam vel
stellas, alii ignem, alii aquam profundam
vel fontes aquarum, credentes hæc omnia
non a Deo esse ad usum hominum, sed ipsa,
ex se orta, deos esse.[2]

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1 "After the flood, the human race was again restored through the three sons of Noe, who had been saved with their wives. And when the multitude began to increase and fill the world, again men forgot God the Creator of the World and when they had abandoned the Creator they began to worship creatures." All translations of Martin of Braga are taken from C.W. Barlow's *Iberian Fathers*. Vol. 1. The Fathers of the Church, ed. R.J. Deferrari. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969.

2 "Some paid homage to the sun, others to the moon and stars, others fire, others deep water and springs of water, believing that all of these had not been created by God for the use of man, but had sprung up as gods from themselves."

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sume eac on wæter, and wurðodan hi [for godas];
sume on þa eorþan, for þon þe heo ealle þing afet.
Ac hi mihton tocnawan, gif hi cuþan þæt gesceaD,
þæt se is ana god þe hi ealle gesceop,
us mannum to bryce, for his micclan godnysse.
Þas gesceafta doð swa swa hym gedihte heora Scyppend,
and ne magon naht don butan drihtnes willan,
for þan þe nan scyppend nis butan se a[n] soþa God,
and we hine wurðiað mid gewissum geleafan,
cweþende mid muðe and mid modes incundnysse
þæt se is ana god þe ealle þing ges[c]eop.

[3a]

Git þa, þa hæþenan noldan beon gehealdene
on swa feawum godum, ac fengon to wurðianne
mislice entas and men him to godum,
þa þe mihtige wæron on woruldlicum geþincðum,
and egefulle on life, þeah þe hy [leofodon] fullice.
An man wæs eardiende on þam ilande creta,
Saturnus gehaten, swiðlic and wælhreow,
swa þæt he abat hys suna, þa þahi geborene wæron,
and unfæderlice macode heora flæsc him to mete.
He læfde swaþeah ænne to l[i]fe,
þeah þe he abite his gebroðra on ær;
se wæs Iouis gehaten, hetol and þrymlic.

¶ 7: imponentes sibi vocabula sceleratorum hominum, qui in omnibus criminibus et sceleribus suam egerant vitam . . .[3]

¶ 7: Alius quoque dæmon Saturni sibi nomen adscripsit, qui, in omni crudelitate vivens, etiam nascentes suos filios devorabat.[4]

3 "Assuming the names of wicked men who had spent their whole lives in crime and sin. . ."
4 "Another demon took for himself the name of Saturn, who had lived amid all sorts of cruelty, even devouring his own sons at their birth."

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He [afligde] his fæder of þam foresædan iglande,
and wolde hine acwellan, gif he him come to.
Se Iouis wæs swa swiðe gal, þæt he on hys swustor gewifode;
seo wæs gehaten Iuno, swiðe healic gyden.
Heora gedohtra wæron Minerua and Uenus.
Þa forlæg se fæder fullice buta,
and manega his magan ma[n]lice gewemde.
Þas manfullan menn wæron þa mæroston godas
þe þa hæþenan wurðodan, and worhton him to godum;
ac se sunu wæs swaþeah swiðor gewurðod
þonne se fæder wære on heora fulan bigeng[e].
Þes Iouis is arwurðust ealra þæra goda
þe þa hæþenan hæfdon on heora gedwylde;
and he hatte Þor betwux sumum þeodum,
þone þa deniscan leoda lufiað swiðost.
His sunu hatte Mars, se macede æfre saca,
and wrohte and wawan he wolde æfre styria[n].
Þisne wurðodan þa hæðenan for healicne god,
and swa oft swa hi fyrdadon, oþþe to gefeohte woldan,
þonne offrodon hi heora lac on ær þisum god[e].
Hi gelyfdon þæt he mihte micclum him [f]ultumian
on þam gefeohte, for þam þe he gefeoht lufode.
Sum man wæs gehaten Mercurius on life,
se wæs swiðe facenfull and swicol on dædum,
and lufode eac stala and leasbregdnyssa.
Þone macodan þa hæþenan him to mæran gode,

¶ 7:
Ut alius Iovem se esse diceret, qui fuerat magus et in tantis adulteriis incestus, ut sororem suam haberet uxorem, quæ dicta est Iuno, Minervam vero et Venerem, filias suas, corruperit, neptes quoque et omnem parentelem suam turpiter incestaverit.[5]

¶ 7: Alius autem dæmon Martem se nominavit, qui fuit litigiorum et discordiæ commissor.[6]

5 "So that one claimed to be Jupiter, who had been a soothsayer and involved in so many adulteries that his daughters, Minerva and Venus, and had even committed foul incest with his nieces and all his female relatives."
6 "Another demon called himself Mars, who had sown quarrels and discord."

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and æt wega gelætum him lac offrodan,
and to heagum beorgum him brohtan onsæg[ed]nysse.
Ðes god wæs [a]rwyrðe betwyx eallum hæþenum,
and he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on Denisc.

¶ 7: . . . sacrificia in excelsis montibus.[7]

[3b]
Nu secgað þa deniscan on heora gedwylde
þæt se Iouis wære, þe hi Þór hatað,
Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon hatað
ac hi nabbað na riht, for þam þe we ræda ðon bocum,
ge on hæþenum ge on cristenum, þæt se hetola Iouis
to soðan wære Saturnes sunu,
and þa bec ne magon beon awægede
þe þa ealdan hæðenan be him awriton þuss;
and eac on martira þrowungum we gemetað swa awriten.

Sum wif hatte Uen[us], seo wæs Ioues dohter,
swa fracod on galnysse þæt hire fæder hi hæfde,
and eac hire broðor, and oðre gehwylce,
on myltestrena wisan; ac hi wurðiað þa hæþenan
for [halige] gydenan, swa swa heora godes dohter.
Manega oþre god[a]s wæron mislice afundene,
and eac swilce gydenan, on swiðlicum wurþmynte
geond ealne middaneard,manncynne to forwyrde;
ac þas synd þa fyrmestan, þeah ðe hi fullice leofodan.

¶ 7: Alius etiam dæmon Venerem se esse confinxit, quæ fuit mulier meretrix. Non solum cum innumerabilibus adulteris, sed etiam cum patre suo, Iove, et cum fratre suo, Marte, meretricata est.[8]

[7] "[they offer] sacrifices to them on lofty mountains."
[8] "Another demon claimed to be Venus; she had been a prostitute and not only participated in innumerable adulteries, but had even committed incest with her father, Jupiter, and her brother, Mars."

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Se syrwienda deofol, þe swicað embe mancyn,
gebrohte þa hæþenan on þæt healice gedwyld,
þæt hi swa fule menn him fundon to godum,
þe þa leahtras lufodan, þe liciað þam deofle,
þæt eac heora biggengan heora bysmor lufodan,
and ælfremede wurdan fram þam ælmihtigan Gode,
se ðe leahtras onscunað, and lufað þa clænnysse.

¶ 8: Ecce tales fuerunt illo tempore isti perditi homines, quos ignorantes rustici per adinventiones suas pessimas honorabant, quorum vocabula ideo sibi dæmones adposuerunt, ut ipsos quasi deos colerent et sacrificia illis offerrent et ipsorum facta imitarentur, quorum nomina invocabant.[9]

[4]

Hi gesettan eac þa þære sunnan and þam monan,
and þam oðrum godum, ælcum his dæg:
ærest þære sunnan þone sunnandæg,
and syððan þam monan þone monandæg;
and þone þriddan dæg hi þeowdan marte,
heora feoht[e]gode, him to fultume.
Þone feorþan dæg hi sealdan, him to frofre,
þam foresædan mercurie, heora mæran gode.
Þone fiftan dæg hi freolsodan mærlice,
Ioue to wyrðmynte, þam mærestan gode.
Ðone sixtan dæg hi gesetton þære sceamleasan gydenan
Uen[us] gehaten, and Fric[g] on Denisc.

¶ 8: Homines infideles . . . Deum habent iratum et non ex toto corde in fide Christi credunt, sed sunt dubii in tantum ut nomina ipsa dæmoniorum in singulos dies nominent, et appellent diem Martis et Mercurii et Iovis et Veneris et Saturni, qui nullum diem fecerunt, sed fuerunt homines pessimi et scelerati in gente Græcorum.[10]

[9] "Lo, such was the nature in the days of those perverse men, whom the ignorant rustics basely honored by their own evil conduct, and whose names the demons had assumed in order that the rustics might worship them as gods and offer them sacrifices and imitate the deeds of those whose names they had invoked."

[10] "The infidels have angered God and do not believe wholeheartedly in the faith of Christ, but are such disbelievers that they place the very names of the demons on each day of the week, and speak of the day of Mars and of Mercury and of Jupiter and of Venus and of Saturn, who never created a day, but were evil and wicked men among the race of the Greeks."

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Þone seofoðan dæg hi sealdan saturne þam ealdan,
þæra goda fæder, him sylfum to frofre,
endenexð swa þeah, þeah he yldost wære.

[5]

Hi woldan [g]it wurðian arwurðlicor þa godas,
and forgeafon him steorran, swilce hi ahton heora geweald:
þa syfan tunglan, sunnan and monan,
and þa oðre fif, þe farað æfre
ongean þone roder to eastdæle werd,
ac hi gebigð seo heofon underbæc æfre.
Ac þa steorran swaþeah scinon on heofonum
on frymþe middaneardes, ær þa manfullan godas
wurdon acennede, oððe gecorene to godum.

[6]

Hi worhtan eac anlicnyssa þam arwurþum godum,
sume of smætum golde, and þa asmeadan mid cræfte,
sume of hwitum seolfre, sume eac of stanum,
sume of mislicum antimbre, be þam þe heora mihta wæron;
and him hus arærdon, þæt hi heton tempel,
and þarinne gelogodan heora leofan godas
mid leade gebundene, and [gebædon hi] þarto.

¶ 8: Suaserunt etiam illis dæmones, ut templa illis facerent et imagines vel statuas sceleratorum hominum ibi ponerent et aras illis constituerent.[11]

11 "The demons even persuaded them to build temples to them and to place therein images or statues of wicked men and to set up altars to them."

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Þa gesawon þa deoflu, þe hi beswicon on ær,
þa fægran anlicnyss[a], and flugon þarto,
and þurh þa anlicnyssa spræcon to þam earmum mannum,
and hi swa forlæddon mid heora leasungum,
and to hellicum suslum heora sawla gebrohtan.
Smiðas hi worhtan sm[e]alice mid cræfte,
and oft gesealdon þa sylfrenan godas,
sumne to maran wurðe, be þam þe he gemacod wæs,
sumne eac waclicor, be þam þe his wurð wæs.
And swa lange swa he sloh þone samworhtan god,
and mid his græfseaxe holode hetelice þa eagan,
ne stod him nan ege for þære anlicnysse;
ac þonne heo geworht wæs, he wurðode hi for god.

Isidore, *Etym. VIII, cap. xi* : Simulacrorum usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines vel effigies, tanquam in cælum receptis: pro quibus se in terris dæmones colendos supposuerunt, et sibi sacrificari a deceptis et perditis persuaserunt.[12]

12 "The employment of idols began when, out of grief for the dead, images or effigies were built for them, as if they had been taken up into heaven (?): in the place of which the demons substituted themselves for the things worshipped on earth, and they brought it about that they were sacrificed to by those deceived and utterly lost men."

Chapter Four

Liturgical Devil and Hagiographical Demon: Demonic Agency in Cynewulf's *Elene* and *Guthlac A*

Recalling my discussion in Chapter One of the separate creation of the spiritual and physical worlds, I would observe that with the advent of historical time, i.e. the creation of the physical world, a process was set in motion and a hierarchy was established whereby the inhabitants of these two worlds existed side-by-side and only rarely came into contact with one another. Of course, as we have also observed, God the Father seems to have intervened more often in Old Testament narratives than thereafter, and this situation is paralleled in the Anglo-Saxon corpus. Naturally enough, He features most prominently as a character in the Biblical translations and paraphrases that take as their model scripture itself. In the Old Testament, God appeared before the Isrealites, He spoke to Moses and Abraham "in person," while in the New Testament God the Son "leaves" the purely spiritual realm and manifests Himself in this world. In biblical times, however, both Christ and God the Father seem to have been moved to the background in much of the imaginative religious literature of this period, especially the saints' lives and vision narratives. The saints themselves, and their spiritual counterparts and adversaries–angels and devils–emerge as the most prominent players in these narrative dramas.

But more to the point: there were moments when the two worlds met, when a cross-over took place, when either an angel or a devil made his presence known and felt in this world, or when a man left his body

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and was privileged to witness a vision of the Other World, whether on his own or accompanied by a spiritual guide.

It is largely the holy person in the literature of the period who receives the special attentions of visitors from the spiritual world, i.e. either messengers from God or the plaguing lieutenants of the Ancient Enemy, and it is consequently in the Lives of the saints–in Old English literature both the prose Lives and the verse saints' Lives *Andreas, Judith, Juliana,* and *Elene,* as well as the entire "assemblage" of Guthlac materials–that the demons feature as petty characters, carrying out the bidding of their master.[1]

In an article dealing with the combat between saints and demons, Peter Dinzelbacher points out that despite the best efforts of Christian apologists, the relationship between God/Christ and the Devil is essentially dualistic.[2] This dualism is perhaps more apparent than real, inasmuch as it is difficult on a narrative plane to tell stories about God and the Devil without their "seeming" to advance a dualistic point of view. Thus while theologically and philosophically Christianity was not dualistic, a certain narratological dualism was sustained in the saints' lives and legends (and indeed in other kinds of texts as well, including prayers, liturgical rites and biblical exegesis) from early Christian times onward. In the first Gregorian period this dualistic struggle is waged between God/Christ and Satan. It is prefigured in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, culminating in the highpoint of Christian salvation history: Christ's defeat of Satan on the

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[1] A notable exception to this is the idea that every person has a guardian angel assigned to watch over them at birth, and that likewise devils were in attendance to lead them astray. I discuss these in Chapter Five below.

[2] Peter Dinzelbacher, "Der Kampf der Heiligen mit den Dämonen." In *Santi e Demoni Nell'Alto Medioevo Occidentale in Spoleto,* Presso La Suede del Centro, 1988, pp. 647-95, at 647-48.

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cross and subsequent harrowing of hell and binding of the Ancient Adversary. These events herald the beginning of the second Gregorian period in Satan's mundane career. With Satan's absolute power broken (and the Devil himself bound in hell) and Christ having departed (in the physical sense, at least) from this world, new figures emerge to take the stage in the continuing Christian drama of struggle.on the earthly and spiritual planes. The saints assume Christ's role in the earthly struggle, and an important element in their striving after *imitatio Christi* is to seek out the fight with evil spirits in this world. Conversely, these evil spirits have their own well-defined role to play, a role which in all ways resembles those manifested by their spiritual "father" in the Old and New Testaments. Thus, as the saints seek to achieve the *imitatio Christi*, the demons pursue the parallel but inverse *imitatio diaboli*.[3] In fact, it is arguable that without the demons to wage spiritual warfare against, there would be no sainthood; as Peter Dinzelbacher summarizes: "Wenn kein Teufel, dann auch kein Martyerer, wenn kein Kampf, auch kein Sieg, kein Krone, kein Lohn."[4]

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[3] The analogy is less than exact, for one might point out that the demons are closer by their very nature to the object of their *imitatio* than are the saints. Nevertheless, whereas the saints were compelled to their *imitatio* by the highest cause–love of God–the demons were understood at least by some to be motivated by an equally compelling though opposite force: fear of the Devil. In the OE *Juliana*, for example, the demon captured by the saint describes the punishment for failure:

> Gif soðfæstra
> þurh myrrelsan mod ne oðcyrreð,
> haligra hyge, we þa heardestan
> ond þa wyrrestan witu geþoliað
> þurh sarslege. Nu þu sylfa meaht
> on sefan þinum soð gecnawan,
> þæt ic þisse noþe wæs nyde gebæded,
> þragmælum geþread, þæt ic þe sohte.
> (ASPR III, p. 122, ll. 321-44)

[4] Dinzelbacher 1988, p. 651. Dinzelbacher is here summarizing the ideas expressed by Asterius the "Sophist" [d. 341] and Anastasius Sinaita [d. c. 700]. I include the relevant citations in that order, which I have taken from Roskoff, II, p. 153:

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In the same essay Dinzelbacher develops a taxonomy of elements typical of the combat between Christian saints and devils. With only a very few exceptions, he draws the illustrative material for his taxonomy from texts outside the Anglo-Saxon tradition, most notably the early Christian saints' Lives–such as Evagrius' *Vita Antonii*–that served as source and inspiration for this later tradition. Such a taxonomy based on texts either composed by or known to the Anglo-Saxons would be a boon for our understanding of the uses of demonology in Anglo-Saxon England, but this is not the place to attempt even outlining a taxonomy of this kind. Such a project should be postponed until an exhaustive inventory of demonological motifs from early medieval Insular literature has been compiled.[5] This chapter does, however, concern itself with conflict between saint and devil in this world. The two studies that follow, while dealing with quite different texts and themes, both illustrate Anglo-Saxon innovation in the adaptation of traditional demonological motifs.

Nisi enim Diabolus Christianos persecutus esset ac adversus ecclesiam bellum suscepisset, nullos haberemus Martyres, moesta ac nihil hilaris festaque (?) vita nobis ageretur.

and:

Quando nullus hostis infestat, legitimi milites et regis amici non innotescunt. Si nulla sit pugna vel lucta, nulla erit victoria, nulla erit corona, nulla merces.

[5] See my "Conclusion," below.

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I.

The Devil and Judas in Cynewulf's *Elene*

As I have pointed out in Chapter Two, demonic agency in this world as portrayed in narratives situated in the second Gregorian period is almost exclusively attributed to subordinate demons, not the Ancient Adversary himself.[6] Early medieval poets and hagiographers adhered to this "rule" when they wrote their narratives, either because they had Gregory's periodic divisions in mind, or because they were conscious of the literal fact of Satan's state of bondage after the Harrowing. Another factor of some influence may have been the *Life of St. Anthony*, so many conflicts with demons in hagiography having been patterned to some extant on the Antonian model. On the literal level Anthony's combat in the desert is waged against Satan's subordinate demons, not the Devil himself. Demonic agency in early medieval hagiography, then, is represented by what we might call the "hagiographical demon," by which we always mean a subordinate demon.

In the light of this widespread tendency in early medieval hagiography, the appearance of Satan in the Old English *Elene* is clearly an anomaly. In this adaptation by Cynewulf of the *Acta Cyriaci*, it is the Devil himself who confronts both the Empress Helen and the Jew Judas in a narrative that is squarely and unambiguously situated in the second Gregorian period.[7] That the anomaly has thus far escaped the attention of modern critics is due in part to an often less than careful reading of the

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[6] See above, p. 80, note 4.

[7] That is, after Christ's passion and Harrowing of hell, but before the advent of the Anti-Christ. Support for the "rule" discussed here

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text,[8] but more understandably to the fact that Abbetmeyer's definition of the Gregorian periods does not seem to have made much of an impact on the criticism of Old English poetry.[9] All the same, Satan's appearance in *Elene* remains a narratological problem, and it invites resolution.

If we turn to the text closest to what must have been Cynewulf's main Latin source, we find little that positively identifies the devil appearing there as Satan. Judas has just revealed which of the crosses found in the earth is the True Cross when this devil makes his appearance:

> Sed omnium
> bonorum semper inuidus diabolus cum
> furore uocis ferebatur in aera, dicens: "Quis
> iterum hic est qui non permittit me susci-
> pere animas eorum? Ihesu Nazarene, omnes
> traxisti ad te et lignum tuum manifestasti
> aduersus meos. Iudas, quid hoc fecisti? Non-
> ne prior per Iudam traditionem faci? et ecce
> nunc per Iudam hinc eicior. Inueni et ego quid
> faciam aduersus te: Suscitabo alium regem
> qui derelinquat crucifixum et meis sequa-
> tur consiliis et iniquis tormentis et nunc
> crucifixum negauis."[10]
>
> (287-298)

To begin with, the use of the word "diabolus" is not decisive for establishing the devil's status, for in medieval Latin this was an ambiguous term which could either refer to Satan, or function as a synonym for any one of his subordinate *dæmones*. The contents of the devil's speech, on the other hand, are somewhat more suggestive. Here he refers to the betrayal

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8 Again, see note 4, p. 80, above.

9 See the Introduction, p. 7.

10 I cite the text from A. Holder, *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 10; the punctuation is my own.

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of Christ which "he" had brought about through Judas Iscariot. Moreover, the devil mentions the souls that Jesus denies him, which suggests that indeed the "he" alluded to here is the head of the impious, i.e. Satan himself. Finally, the plot to raise up an apostate king against Judas as described by this devil may strike one as being of the magnitude one would expect only Satan himself could accomplish.

These references are not, however, as straightforward as they at first seem. In another confrontation between saint and devil adapted by Cynewulf, the devil captured by St. Juliana in the poem of that name seems as well to be none other than the Ancient Adversary himself. The list of evil accomplishments to which he confesses certainly points in this direction. These crimes include the wounding of Christ on the Cross, the instigation of various persecutions and the martyrdoms of Peter, Paul, and Andrew. A leaf is missing from the Exeter Book at just the point where the devil begins his catalogue of evil deeds, so the text containing his earliest efforts is missing. From the latin analogue, however, we learn that this devil had led Adam to fall, Cain to slay Abel, and had himself incited Judas to betray Christ.[11] Just as in the *Acta Cyriaci*, then, we would seem to be dealing with the Author of Sin himself. And yet this devil reveals, in both the Latin and Old English versions, that he is not the "hellwarena cyning" at all, but merely one of his "sons."[12] Thus while the context and actions described would seem to mark the devil in *Juliana* as Satan, the further

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[11] AA SS. XVI Februarii, "Acta auctore anonymo," vol. 2, p. 875.

[12] ASPR III, pp. 122, ll.311a ff. The Latin *Vita* is even more explicit: B. Juliana dixit: Quis te misit ad me? Dæmon respondit: Satanas pater meus. Quoted after Rosemary Woolf, ed. *Juliana*. Methuen's Old English Library. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966, at p. 35, note to line 321. In the Latin this creature is referred to from the outset as *dæmon*, and he is even named: Ego sum Belial dæmon, quem aliqui Iopher Nigrum vocant. (*Acta Sanctorum*, XVI Februarii, p. 875).

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narrative reveals him to be nothing more than a subordinate demon. This state of affairs becomes less confusing to the modern reader once we recall Tyconius' seventh rule, regarding the Devil and his Body: "Sometimes things are said concerning the Devil which may be understood not with reference to himself, but rather to his body."[13] In the light of this and the comparable description from *Juliana*, the devil who appears before Judas in the OE *Elene* cannot without further contextual indications be positively identified as Satan.

And yet Cynewulf seems to have done just this, as his adaptation of the scene illustrates. Judas has just identified the True Cross through a miracle of resurrection: having raised up the other two crosses in the presence of a dead youth with no visible effects, he does the same with the third, whereupon the boy springs immediately to life. Those witnessing the event offer suitable thanks and praise to the glory of God. This is the point at which the devil appears:

> Ongan þa hleoðrian helledeofol,
> eatol æclæca, yfela gemyndig:
> (898-99)

The absence of the definite article in Cynewulf's introduction of the devil leaves this reference, taken in isolation, open to ambiguous interpretation. "Helledeofol" might equally designate *the* devil of hell, or *a* devil of hell. Thus far, then, the matter remains unresolved.

> "Hwæt is þis, la, manna, þe *minne* eft
> þurh *fyrngeflit* *folgaþ* wyrdeð,
> iceð *ealdne nið*, *æhta* strudeð?

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[13] Discussed in Chapter Two above, esp. p. 104.

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> þis is singal sacu. Sawla ne moton
> manfremmende in *minum* leng
> *æhtum* wunigan. Nu cwom elþeodig,
> þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,
> *hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,*
> *feohgestrona.* Nis ðæt fæger sið.
> (902-910; italics mine)

Here we see how Cynewulf has expanded one line of the devil's dialogue ("Quis iterum hic est qui non permittit me suscipere animas eorum?") to nine. But his expansion embraces more than mere embellishment; above all, I would argue, it serves to clarify the identification of this devil as Satan himself. Cynewulf amplifies "iterum" to something more meaningful: this is not just another encounter between a saint and a devil, but the renewal and perpetuation of an ancient strife, the "fyrngeflit," the "ealdne nið" between Christ and Satan. Moreover the "possessions" (æhta) being denied here are laid claim to by the devil as his own in much more emphatic terms than is the case in the Latin analogues. In the devil's words, Judas is destroying *his* following (minne ... folgað), and the souls he refers to are suddenly no longer in *his* possession (in minum ... æhtum).[14] As the Anglo-Saxons were aware from texts like *Juliana*, it was the task of Satan's subordinate demons to ensnare the souls of men, but the privilege of Satan to then hold them in his sway.

The most significant addition of material not found in any of the Latin analogues is that comprising lines 907b-910a. At this point in his

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[14] Three of the five manuscripts collated by Holder have the reading "eorum" in this line, while the other two read "meorum" (Holder, p. 25). Naturally there is no way of knowing which Cynewulf saw, but the existence of this variant renders it at least possible that Cynewulf changed the line to give possession of the souls to Satan. Whether he saw "eorum" or "meorum" in his original, he certainly emphasized this telling detail in his Old English adaptation.

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speech Satan gives expression to the well-known doctrinal theory of the "devil's rights," which holds that after the fall of man, but before Christ's sacrifice, Satan held sway over mankind as the Prince of the World:

> Nu cwom elþeodig,
> þone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,
> hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,
> feohgestrona[15]

As we have noted elsewhere, the loss of these "rights," together with the binding of the Devil in hell mark the transition from the first Gregorian period in Satan's mundane career to the second.[16]

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15 "Now a stranger has come, whom previously I reckoned to be bound fast by sin, and he has robbed me of all my rights, of my riches."

16 One example from a text with which the Anglo-Saxons were certainly familiar should suffice to illustrate the theory: Gregory's *Mor.* II, ch. 22, ¶ 41 (on Job 1:7):

Adam quippe, ante aduentum Domini, omnes post se gentium nationes traxit. Circuiuit et perambulauit quia per corda gentium iniquitatis suae uestigia impressit. Cadens enim a sublimibus humanas mentes iure possedit quia in culpae suae uinculo uolentes astrinxit; tantoque latius in mundo uagatus est quanto a reatu quisque illius liber per omnia inuentus non est. Cui quasi ex potestate mundum circuisse est, nullum hominem qui sibi plene resisteret inuenisse. Sed iam satan redeat, id est ab effctu suae malitiae uis illum diuina constringat, quia iam apparuit in carne qui in peccati contagione ex carnis nil habeat infirmitate. Venit humilis quem et superbus hostis admiretur; quatenus qui fortia diuinitatis eius despexerat etiam humanitatis eius infirma pertimescat. Vnde et mox significatione mirifica, contra eum ipsa humanitatis infirmitas obstupescenda proponitur, etc. (CCSL 143, p.p. 84-85)

"For from the time of Adam till the coming of the Lord, he drew after him all the nations of the Gentiles; he went *to and fro in the earth*, and walked *up and down in it*, in that he stamped the foot-prints of his wickedness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles. For when he fell from on high he gained lawful possession of the minds of men, because he fastened them as willing captives in the chains of his iniquity; and he wandered the more at large in the world, in proportion as there was no one found who was in all things free from that of his guilt. And his having gone to and fro in the world as with power, is his having found no man who could thoroughly resist him. But now let Satan return back, i.e. let the Divine power withhold him from the execution of his wickedness, since he has now appeared in the flesh, Who had no part in the infection of sin from the infirmity of the flesh. He came in humility for the proud enemy himself to wonder at, that he who had set at nought all the mightiness of His Divinity, might stand in awe even of the very infirmities of His humanity. Wherefore also this very weakness of His human nature is immediately set forth

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In a chapter devoted to this theme in Cynewulf's *Elene*, Earl R. Anderson succinctly summarizes the two soteriological theories current in the early Middle Ages.[17] On the one hand there was the "satisfaction" theory of atonement (based on Hebrews 10:1-25) in which the crucifixion was seen as a sacrifice made by Christ on behalf of man. This view stresses, as Earl observes, the relationship between God and man. The devil's-rights theory, on the other hand, emphasizes the relationship between Christ and Satan, and allows for portrayal of the crucifixion as a conflict between the two, the Devil ultimately being tricked and stripped of his "rights" by Christ's triumphant victory on the Cross.[18] Cynewulf's addition of this material to the devil's speech, then, seems clearly to establish the unambiguous identification–on the literal level–of this devil as Satan himself. If this identification seems plausible–and here I would point out that most critics seem, implicitly at least, to agree with it–then we must return to the question of how it could be that Cynewulf did not find the appearance of Satan in his source incongruous. The narratological patterns and tendencies that we have observed elsewhere would have called for the appearance of the "hagiographical demon," or a subordinate demon, rather than the "hellwarena cyning" himself.

There are numerous clues in the text itself that point to Cynewulf having found good reason to accentuate the identification of Satan in his poem. I shall argue that he recognized in his sources a framework for a reading of the events that stresses its symbolic and spiritual meaning, as

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against him with wonderful significance as an object to confound him, etc." (trans. John Henry Parker, Oxford, p. 844)

[17] Earl R. Anderson, *Cynewulf: Structure, Style and Theme in His Poetry*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983; pp. 141-42.

[18] For more on the coexistence of these two seemingly contradictory theories, see Woolf, especially pp. 142 ff.

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opposed to its literal significance. I believe that Cynewulf had himself arrived at his reading of the *Inventio Crucis* legend through deep meditation and contemplation, and that he wished to make the results of that contemplation explicit for his auditors. The main thrust of my argument here is that with the appearance of Satan at this juncture in the narrative, the historically chronological framework of the literal account of the legend gives way to the "timeless" aspect of the baptismal liturgy. It is the Old Adversary himself who appears in the Christian baptismal rites; consequently, instead of the "hagiographical demon," we are presented with the "liturgical Devil."

To return for a moment to Satan's speech and Anderson's analysis of it, while Anderson's identification in *Elene* of the theological concept of the devil's rights is an apt one, his main contention is that Cynewulf derived this, as well as both general and specific inspiration for his poem, from the Latin *Gospel of Nicodemus.*[19] This position is highly debatable, not only on general grounds because many of the echoes that he adduces as probable translations from that text are less than convincing, but also because there is nothing like a general scholarly consensus on when the Anglo-Saxons became familiar with this apocryphal gospel.[20] In particular, Anderson misinterprets the reference in this speech (and in two other poems by

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[19] See especially p. 139.

[20] See Jackson J. Campbell ("To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and Literary Use of the 'Descensus ad Inferos' in Old English." *Viator* 13 (1982): 107-158) for the most thorough recent treatment of the issue. Campbell's conclusion is a negative one: "[I]t has appeared that Old English poets and prose writers used it not at all, if indeed they even knew of its existence. Since there was a widespread and various loe dealing with the Descent, there would naturally have been many avenues for authors to acquire knowledge of the myth and its multifarious meanings. In order to specify that an author was influenced by the GN, one would have to find concrete details which are particular to that Gospel" (p. 158). None of Anderson's evidence meets these requirements for a positive identification of direct influence.

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Cynewulf) to Satan's binding in a way that has direct bearing on my argument.[21] The passage of *Elene* quoted above continues as follows:

> Feala me se hælend hearma gefremede,
> niða nearolicra, se ðe in Nazareð
> afeded wæs. Syððan furþum weox
> of cildhade, symle cirde to him
> æhte mine. Ne mot ænige nu
> rihte spowan. Is his rice brad
> ofer middangeard. Min is geswiðrod
> ræd under roderum. Ic þa rode ne þearf
> hleahtre herigean. Hwæt, se hælend me
> in þam engan ham oft getynde,
> geomrum to sorge!
>
> (911-21a)

In these lines we see Satan again lamenting the loss of his possessions (915: æhte). Whereas before Satan blamed Judas for dispossessing him (909-10), the shift in the object of his discourse now renders the association between Judas' actions and those of Satan's ancient enemy–Christ–explicit. Furthermore, Christ's kingdom has grown, he complains, while his own has diminished (916-18; in itself further confirmation–if any was needed–that Satan himself is speaking). Finally, Satan remarks on his binding by Christ in a way that is not without interpretive problems. Anderson analyzes these lines as follows:

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[21] The binding of Satan is an eminently ubiquitous motif, and its presence in any text cannot constitute proof that that text was influenced by the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. This is one of the motifs disqualified by Campbell for this purpose (see p. 158), but as the passage quoted from his book shows, Anderson considers it conclusive evidence for Cynewulf's knowledge of the apocryphal gospel.

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Christ's binding and imprisonment of the devil is another detail associated with the harrowing of hell in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Cynewulf's devil complains, in a passage that has no counterpart in the *Vita Cyriaci*,

> ic þa rode ne þearf
> hleahtre herigean; hwæt, se hælend me
> in þam engan ham oft getynde,
> geomrum to sorge!

[*Elene*, 918b-21a: I need not praise the Cross in exultation. Lo, the Savior often has shut me up in the narrow home, to my sorrow.]

Here, as in the Nicodemus account, it is through the power of the Cross ... that Christ "laid hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell" (Lat. A 22.2). [...] Satan and his princes are given Hell in exchange for Adam and his children. *The periodic binding of the devil, after unsuccessful attempts to deceive the saints, is an idea found elsewhere in Cynewulf's poetry,* but its specific association here with the power of the Cross, as well as with the harrowing of hell, suggests that Cynewulf had his inspiration from the Gospel of Nicodemus.[22]

Leaving aside the issue of Cynewulf's dependence on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, I would call attention to Anderson's unqualified identification of the "periodic binding of the devil." In fact, the passages in Cynewulf's poetry that Anderson alludes to do not contain the notion of a "periodic binding" of the Devil at all: the excerpt from *Juliana* simply describes the saint dragging her captive devil along with her in chains, while the relevant text in Cynewulf's *Christ II* describes the fifth of Christ's famous leaps, in which He harrows hell and binds Satan, phrased here by Cynewulf in no

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[22] Anderson, p. 139; emphasis mine.

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uncertain terms as a single, final binding of the devil.[23] In his reading of these passages, Anderson fails to distinguish between the hagiographical demon and Satan himself.

Yet one line in the passage quoted above does pose a real interpretive problem, namely the unmistakable reference to the "frequent" binding of Satan: "hwæt, se hælend me in þam engan ham *oft* getynde geomrum to sorge." How are we to reconcile the contradictory views of Satan's historical binding by Christ at the harrowing, and Cynewulf's unambiguous allusion to Christ's "repetition" of the same act? As we have seen, Anderson sought to do so by positing–at the literal level–frequent and multiple appearances of Satan before the saints, but we are forced to recognize that this view would be untenable to any who believed in the historicity of the harrowing of hell. At the very least, the notion of historical "periodic bindings" would violate the logic of any narrative set in

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[23] Thus *Juliana* 530b-58:

> Ða se gerefa het,
> gealgmod guma, Iulianan
> of þam engan hofe ut gelædan
> on hyge halge hæþnum to spræce
> to his domsetle. Heo þæt deofol teah,
> breostum inbryrded, bendum fæstne,
> halig hæþenne.

This is, of course, not the Devil himself, but the subordinate demon Juliana has captured in her cell. How this passage could illustrate the "periodic binding" of Satan remains a mystery. Likewise, the second passage Anderson refers to as illustrative of this "theme" is entirely void of any allusions to repetition of the binding of Satan. On the contrary, Cynewulf is quite clear about the relative permanence of Satan's bound state:

> Wæs se fifta hlyp
> þa he hellwarena heap forbygde
> in cwicsusle, cyning inne gebond,
> feonda foresprecan, fyrnum teagum,
> gromhydigne, þær *he gen ligeð*
> *in carcerne clommum gefæstnad,*
> *synnum gesæled.*
> (*Christ II* 720-36a; emphasis mine)

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the second Gregorian period. It is one thing to say, in an allegorical or figurative sense, that the Devil was responsible for a great deal of evil in this world, while understanding the literal portrayal of his agency in terms of the Tyconian mode of interpretation. It is quite another thing to suggest that at the literal level Satan enjoyed freedom to roam the earth after Christ's harrowing of hell.[24]

But as Anderson observes, these lines constitute another of Cynewulf's own additions, and have no parallel in the Latin analogues. Thus we may be justified in seeking behind them some purpose other than "poetic circumlocution." The point is of course that in a literal sense the reference in these lines to a "periodic" binding of Satan does not make sense, but read for their spiritual meaning and interpreted in a different temporal context it may: Satan is lamenting the loss of Judas' soul and those of all the witnessing Jews who will later convert and be baptised, and he is tracing this loss to the original act of Redemption by which Christ conquered Satan and bound him in hell. An obvious fact of the *Elene* narrative is that it is a tri-partite tale of conversion: first Constantine, then

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[24] In his study of the development of Christian baptismal rites and the Devil's role in them, Henry Ansgar Kelly comments on the tendency to see the Devil as capable of being in many places at once. Discussing an exorcism from the Byzantine liturgy for baptism contained in the eighth-century *Barberini euchologium*, Kelly says the following:

> The nature of the devil's presence and mode of operation is variously stated. We can deduce from the injunction not to hide in the candidates that he is regarded as being able to dwell within many persons simultaneously. This trait illustrates a common tendency in Christian discussions of the devil, which can in fact be seen in the New Testament itself, namely to speak of Satan as if his power were virtually unlimited in carrying out his evil designs in various parts of the world at the same time. Sometimes, no doubt, the devil is simply taken as a collective term for all evil spirits.

I think it is important to distinguish between "discussions" of the devil, that is to say theoretical ones in which doctrine is formulated; liturgical ones, which by their very nature are highly symbolic; and narratives in which demonic agency is embodied as a literary character.

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Judas, and finally many of the Jews who witness the miracles wrought at the uncovering of the Cross and the Nails undergo some form of revelation that leads to their conversion to the Christian faith.

It is important to realize that the catechumenate and subsequent baptism of the convert was viewed as a symbolic re-enactment of Christ's Temptation, Passion, and Resurrection; thus each time a new Christian is baptised, the struggle between Christ and Satan is symbolically renewed, and Satan loses a soul over which he previously had control. Only in terms of the ritual and figurative catechumenate and baptism of Judas does the appearance of Satan and the allusion to his being "oft getyned" by Christ make sense. Thus incongruities like this one are dispelled once we realize that Satan appears here in a scene that parallels his only official role in the Christian liturgy: the Devil in Baptism.

As I have already made several allusions to Baptism and baptismal ritual, the time has come to consider in more detail the role of the catechumenate and baptismal rites as they relate to Judas' experience in *Elene*. The most discerning discussion of baptismal allusions in this poem is that published by Catharine A. Regan as "Evangelicalism as the Informing Principle of Cynewulf's 'Elene.'"[25] One of Regan's first observations about *Elene* and previous scholarship on the poem is that there had been a tendency to view it only in terms of Cynewulf's amplification of his sources, treating it as a good, if essentially mechanical, achievement in versification of a prose original. (This is certainly true of the earlier

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[25] *Traditio* 29 (1973): 27-52. It is at the same time the only article to recognize these allusions for what they are. Somewhat earlier Thomas D. Hill had noted in passing that Judas' confrontation seemed "patterned on the renunciation of the devil in the baptismal liturgy." See "Sapiential Structure and Figural Narrative in the Old English 'Elene.'" *Traditio* 27 (1971): 159-77, at p. 175.

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scholars, though more critically imaginative readings of the poem have appeared recently.)[26] Regan argues rather for reading the poem as the result of Cynewulf's rumination on the *Acta Cyriaci*, in the mode of *lectio divina*, and thus not merely as an exercise in versification. From her conclusion that Cynewulf was concerned primarily with the *spiritual* meaning of the *Inventio Crucis* legend, as opposed to its literal meaning, it follows that "*Elene* becomes a poem about the Church and its mission to lead men to salvation through acceptance of the Cross, the symbol of the redemptive act."[27]

Regan proceeds to outline the symbolism of hagiography that Cynewulf availed himself of, demonstrating, by means of extra-textual evidence, how the poet cast Elene as a figure or type of the Church.[28] In so doing, she aligns herself with other studies that show how Cynewulf took the *Inventio Crucis* legend and transformed it from a narrative that focuses primarily on the literal meaning of the text, to one that emphasizes the spiritual significance of the events described. Cynewulf accomplishes this in particular by exploiting and expanding the figural patterns of the narrative from which he was working.[29]

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[26] Regan, p. 27. See especially Hill 1971, and E. Gordon Whatley, "Bread and Stone: Cynewulf's 'Elene' 611-618." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76 (1975): 550-560; to which see also Hill's reply: "Bread and Stone Again: 'Elene' 611-18." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81 (1980): 252-257.

[27] Regan, p. 29.

[28] Regan, p. 30.

[29] Thus Thomas D. Hill ("Sapiential Structure", p. 161) explores these figural patterns and observes that the presentation of events in Elene "is iconographic rather than realistic"; E. Gordon Whatley proposes that Judas' situation in the poem is that of the Jews in Christian history as it is expressed figuratively in the specific passage that lies at the center of his discussion ("Bread and Stone," p. 550).

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The bulk of Regan's study focuses on the central scene comprising ll. 588-960. She distinguishes between the narrative and thematic levels of this extended passage. The "narrative" level is defined as follows:

> Elene teaches and disciplines Judas, who in turn confesses to knowledge of the Cross and, as a result of a miracle, identifies the True Cross. Triumphing over the Devil with whom he contends verbally, Judas wins the admiration of Elene for his faith and wisdom. The scene ends with Elene's thanksgiving for having found the Cross and for the grace granted to Judas.

Thematically, "the scene dramatizes Judas' conversion and spiritual growth, which is climaxed by his reception of the higher wisdom of *sapientia*."[30] Regan further explicates Elene's role as a figure of the Church preparing Judas for Baptism, noting how she has proclaimed the Gospel message to the Jews in her four councils with them, has offered Judas the Didache, and subsequently disciplines him when he refuses to listen to her teaching: "The form which Elene's instruction takes is the Catechesis or instruction in preparation for Baptism. When Elene teaches Judas, she is in fact preparing him for membership in the Church through his reception of Baptism" (as described in ll. 1032b-35a and 1043-46a).[31]

Regan details specific associations between the preparation for Baptism and the most salient events in this passage in a way that is worth quoting in full:

> Elene is preparing Judas for Baptism. Judas is at first an unwilling Catechumen, but Cynewulf's audience must have recognized in the

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[30] Regan, p. 31.
[31] Regan, p. 32.

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> instructional and ascetic pattern of the action that Elene's aim is to guide Judas to a profession of faith. When Judas' instruction is described as preparation for Baptism, it is important to recall that Baptism was the center of the sacramental system of the early Church and that the administration of the sacrament was merely the climax of the baptismal liturgy. That liturgy included the long process–the duration could be weeks, months, even years–by which the candidate was gradually liberated from the bonds of darkness and brought into the light of the Christian community. In terms of the liturgy of the early Church, the scene can be described more exactly as a representation of Judas' Catechumenate. There are meaningful correspondences between Elene's treatment of Judas and the early Church's role in forming the Catechumen.[32]

Regan makes a number of insightful observations concerning the associations between this scene and the baptismal liturgy, but I shall limit citation here to just a few of the most important ones. She notes, for example, how the first dialogue between Judas and Elene is thematically the most important because it demonstrates that Cynewulf is thinking in symbolic terms: "Elene offers Judas the moral instruction of the Catechesis in the form of the Two Ways."[33] Such instruction appears in the earliest catechetical treatise as preparation for Baptism.[34]

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[32] Regan, p. 35.

[33] Þe synt tu gearu,
swa lif swa deað, swa þe leofre bið
to geceosanne. Cyð ricene nu
hwæt ðu þæs to þinge þafian wille. (605b-608)
These "two ways" are the Way of Life and the Way of Death. As Regan observes, when Elene offers Judas a choice between life or death, "she is offering him the wide way of spiritual death or the narrow way–dificult and arduous–of spiritual life" (p. 37).

[34] "All Catechetical treatises before Augustine's *De catechezandis rudibus* used the theme of the Two ways as a basis for their moral teaching (Augustine preferred to use the Decalogue), and hence in the early Church pre-baptismal instruction was identified with the theme of the Two Ways" (pp. 37-38).

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Commenting on the well-known "bread and stone" passage (ll. 611-618),[35] Regan points out how richly ironic and meaningful are the allusions here in the context of Baptism:

> The candidate for Baptism was believed to share in the temptation of Christ. Because the early Church placed great emphasis on the soul's conflict with Satan, it held that the soul remained in the power of Satan until it was infused by the Holy Spirit. In fact the baptismal liturgy can be thought of as a continual struggle to free the soul from the bonds of Satan. Hence both Christ and the candidate struggle against the temptations of Satan. [...] When Judas replies to Elene, he alludes to a Biblical passage traditionally linked to Baptism (i.e. Mt. 4:1-11, D.J.). The poet's audience must have made this connection and recognized in the response an ironic foreshadowing of Judas' Catechumenate.[36]

Likewise Judas' imprisonment in the dry pit (ll. 691-98) may be interpreted as preparation for Baptism: "Judas prepares for Baptism by his fast and in the week-long period is purged of his sins."[37] Regan expounds more fully on Judas' ordeal and its relation to Baptism:

> In terms of his potential sanctity and Elene's role in that spiritual growth, Judas' pain is specific preparation for his Baptism. It must be remembered that one did not simply 'join' the Church. The candidate underwent a traumatic change in his life. He was required

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35 Hu mæg þæm geweorðan þe on westenne
meðe ond meteleas morland trydeð,
hungre gehæfted, ond him hlaf ond stan
on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað,
streac ond hnesce, þæt he þone stan nime
wið hungres hleo, hlafes ne gime,
gewende to wædle, ond þa wiste wiðsæce,
beteran wiðhyccge, þonne he bega beneah?

36 Regan, pp. 38-39.

37 Regan, p. 43.

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> to throw off old ways and reform his habits in keeping with his new ideals. He was obliged to die with Christ so that he might rise with him. Fasting was one of the principal means used by the Church to free the Catechumen from the bonds of Satan–and by his defiance of Elene, Judas has shown how firmly those bonds enslave him. The hunger he suffers is the physical pain known to every Catechumen. Elene's prescribed fast is a necessary step in Judas' spiritual development and is in accordance with early Church teachings on how to prepare the Catechumen for Baptism.[38]

Judas' subsequent submission to Elene's wish (ll. 600-708) may seem at first sight to be crass capitulation under duress. Regan demonstrates that in fact it constitutes his acceptance and confession of faith: he finally perceives the "truth" about the Tree of Life, i.e. the truth of Christianity, not just the Cross's location.[39] Such pre-baptismal instruction and acceptance of the truth of faith are of course essential elements in the process of joining the Church. Alcuin stresses both in a letter to Arn, archbishop of Salzburg:

> 'Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' Huius vero praecepti ordinem beatus Hieronimus in

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[38] Regan, p. 44.

[39] "Ic eow healsie þurh heofona god
þæt ge me of ðyssum earfeðum up forlæten,
heanne fram hungres geniðlan. Ic þæt halige treo
lustum cyðe, nu ic hit leng ne mæg
helan for hungre. Is þes hæft to ðan strang,
þreanyd þæs þearl ond þes þroht to ðæs heard
dogorrimum. Ic adreogan ne mæg,
ne leng helan be ðam lifes treo,
þeah ic ær mid dysige þurhdrifen wære
ond ðæt soð to late seolf gecneowe."

["I implore you by the God of the heavens that you let me up out of these torments, laid low by the fierceness of hunger. I will eagerly reveal the holy tree now that I can no longer conceal it because of hunger. This imprisonment is so harsh, the affliction so severe and the suffering so hard with the passing of days. I cannot endure, nor any longer keep the secret of the tree of life, although I was earlier imbued with folly and myself recognized the truth too slowly." (699-708)]

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> commentario suo, que in evangelium sancti Mathei scripsit, ita exposuit: 'Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas intingunt aqua. Non enim potest fieri, ut corpus baptismi accipiat sacramentum, nisi ante anima fidei susceperit veritatem'[40]

The actual raising of the Cross is another scene which illustrates Cynewulf's emphasis on the spiritual meaning of the legend. As Regan remarks, "If *Elene* were to be read merely as a recounting of the finding of the Cross, we could reasonably expect that the poet would give special attention to the actual finding of the Cross."[41] This scene, however, receives none of the elaboration that characterizes other passages, and instead of focussing on the Cross itself, as one might have expected, Cynewulf concentrates on the *effect* that the miracle of the resurrection of the dead youth has on the Jews who witness it. Thus the finding of the true Cross is not the discovery of a mere relic, but more importantly the unveiling of a spiritual truth: "Finding the true Cross is only important insofar as it is a symbol of the spiritual discovery of the Cross which each man must make for himself."[42]

That Cynewulf seems consciously to have avoided portraying the Cross merely as a powerful relic is borne out by a detail that Regan overlooked. In a subtle departure from his source text, Cynewulf further defuses any such associations. In the Latin analogues, each cross is tested by

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[40] 'Go, teach all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' The order of this precept is expounded by Blessed Jerome in his Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel: 'First, the disciples teach all nations, and then, when they have been taught, the nations are baptized. For it is impossible that the body receive the sacrament of baptism, unless the soul have previously received the truth of faith.' Text and translation adapted from Gerald Ellard, *Master Alcuin, Liturgist.* Jesuit Studies, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956, p. 73.

[41] Regan, p. 49.

[42] Regan, p. 52.

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laying it upon the body of the dead youth ("posuit super eum singulas cruces," and "imposita autem tertia cruce dominica super mortuum."),[43] but in *Elene* the crosses are not placed on the body, but raised up over it (ll. 878-881 "ond [he] up ahof ... þara roda twa"; ll. 883-83: "Þa sio þridde wæs ahafen halig.") This difference in action is paralleled by a difference in the nature of the miracle Cynewulf intends to convey. Traditionally the efficacy of a relic is made manifest through contact in one form or another (either directly, as in touching, or slightly more indirectly, as in washing with or ingesting pulverized bits of a given relic mixed with water). Here, however, the power of the Cross as spiritual symbol emanates outward and touches all those present, not just the dead youth, but Judas and (eventually) the Jews as well. Consequently, the *raising* of the Cross brings about recognition of its spiritual significance among many of the Jews present.[44]

Once the true Cross has been identified and the crowd has praised God, Satan himself appears before Judas and delivers the speech we have dealt with above. Regan recognizes this moment as an important one in terms of baptismal imagery, yet it should be clear that she underestimates the significance of Satan's advent: "The Devil commonly appears in saints' lives when good deeds are being performed by the hero, and such an appearance thus becomes a common symbol for the triumph of good over evil."[45] This statement is accurate only in a general sort of way, and it clouds the issue precisely because it is not Satan who commonly appears in the saints' lives, but rather the members of his corporate body, his

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[43] Holthausen, F., ed. *Cynewulfs Elene.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1905; p. 35

[44] See especially lines 889-898a.

[45] Regan, p. 50.

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subordinate demons. Nevertheless, Regan assesses the scene as a whole cogently:

> The appearance of the Devil at this point has special significance in terms of Judas' catechumenate. His fast has yielded the desired effect, for he now has the strength to vanquish the Devil. Judas' triumphant reply to the intruder, in which he predicts that the Lord will thrust him into the depth of torment and accuses him of folly in his rejection of Christ, is a manifestation of his new freedom from the Devil and an explicit renunciation of him–a vital step in the baptismal liturgy.[46]

This statement could be made more forcefully: the appearance of the Devil (i.e. the liturgical Devil) is a virtually certain sign linking the episode to the liturgy of Baptism and foregrounding the figurative, symbolic dimension of the narrative's meaning. As both Regan and Hill point out, Judas' response to Satan's speech is best interpreted in terms of the renunciation of the Devil, one of the central themes in the baptismal liturgy.[47] Regan compares Judas' renunciation here with the early forms of the baptismal liturgy, such as that found in the third-century text, *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. These early versions of the renunciation took the form of a statement uttered directly at Satan, using first and second person verbs, as opposed to the prompted dialogue between priest and catechumen in the later rites.[48]

But I wonder if there is not more going on here than the mere allusion to the renunciation by the catechumen. Strictly speaking, the

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[46] Regan, p. 50.
[47] See above, note 20, and Regan, p. 50.
[48] Regan p. 50.

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contents of Judas' speech do not resemble that of these renunciatory formulas at all. That Judas renounces Satan certainly seems obvious, but the actual renunciation of the Devil is an implicit one, deriving from the act itself of rebuking the Devil rather than from anything Judas actually says. The formula for renunciation by the catechumen referred to by Regan reads as follows:

> 9. And when the presbyter takes hold of each one of those who are to be baptized, let him bid him renounce saying:
>
> I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works.[49]

The later formulas are, as mentioned already, dialogues between catechumen and presbyter:

> Dost thou renounce Satan?
> Rx. I renounce.
> And all his works?
> Rx. I renounce.
> And all his pomps?
> Rx. I renounce.[50]

Cynewulf, however, has again taken one line of text from his source, and expanded it greatly. "Qui mortuos suscitavit, Christus ipse te damnet in abyssum ignis aeterni!" becomes in the Old English:

> "Ne þearft ðu swa swiðe, synna gemyndig,
> sar niwigan ond sæce ræran,
> morðres manfrea, þæt þe se mihtiga cyning
> in neolnesse nyðer bescufeð,

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[49] This is the translation of *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus found in E.C. Whitaker, ed. *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*. 2nd ed., London: S.P.C.K., 1970, p. 5.
[50] Whitaker, p. 183.

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synwyrcende, in susla grund
domes leasne, se ðe deadra feala
worde awehte. Wite ðu þe gearwor
þæt ðu unsnyttrum anforlete
leohta beorhtost ond lufan dryhtnes,
þone fægran gefean, ond on fyrbæðe
suslum beþrungen syððan wunodest,
ade onæled, ond þær awa scealt,
wiðerhycgende, wergðu dreogan,
yrmðu butan ende."[51]

(939-52)

A look at the liturgy for baptism in some early texts as well as the later Sacramentaries shows a closer affinity between Judas' speech and the formulas for exorcism spoken by the priest *after* the catechumen has been signed–a situation that obtains in *Elene*. The liturgy for Holy Saturday in the Gelasian Sacramentary, for example, has the following exorcism:

> Be not deceived, Satan: punishment threatens thee, torment threatens thee, the day of judgement threatens thee, the day of punishment, the day which shall come as a burning furnace, when everlasting destruction shall come upon thee and all thine angels. And, therefore, accursed one, give honour to God, the living and the true, give honour to Jesus Christ his Son, and to the Holy Spirit, in whose Name and power I command thee. Come out and depart from this servant of God, whom this day our Lord Jesus Christ has deigned to call to the gift of his holy grace and of his blessing and the fount of baptism: that he may become his temple, through the water of

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51 "You need not, mindful of sins, so forcefully renew the pain and raise up strife, crime-lord of death. The mighty King, who by his word has raised many of the dead, will thrust you, sin-working one, deprived of glory down into the gulf, into the abyss of torments. May you recognize more clearly that you have foolishly foresaken the brightest light and the love of God, the fair joy. Since then you have dwelt in a fiery bath, surrounded by torments, consumed by fire, and there forever in your hostility you shall suffer punishment, misery without end."

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> regeneration unto the remission of sins, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall come to judge the quick and the dead and this world by fire.[52]

The parallels between the two texts are of course more vague than exact, but it should be obvious that the above exorcism has more in common with Judas' retort than does the renunciation formula current during his day. The exorcism is addressed directly to Satan; he is reminded of the torments and punishment that threaten him; he is adjured to honor the Lord, and finally there may be some parallel between Judas' statement that Christ will come to thrust him down into hell and the last sentiment in the exorcism: that Christ "shall come to judge the quick and the dead and this world by fire." I hasten to add that I claim no connection between this text and *Elene*; I offer it merely as a suggestion for the kind of liturgical formula that Cynewulf may have been familiar with. A more exhaustive examination of the surviving sacramentaries might turn up one that more closely approximates Judas' speech in wording.

The above parallels would suggest that Judas' role is really closer to that of *priest*, rather than catechumen. As a figure, then, Judas combines aspects of two separate yet related symbolic roles. This multiplicity of function and meaning in the figural dimensions of Judas calls for an explanation. If Cynewulf derived inspiration from the baptismal liturgy, and if it is reasonable to infer from our analysis of his speech that he did indeed find a pattern for it in the exorcisms from that liturgy, then we may be justified in seeing an additional dimension to Judas' character emerging at this juncture. Judas–symbolically a catechumen, already imbued with the

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52 Whitaker, p. 183. See also Kelly, pp. 220-23.

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Holy Spirit and the "higher wisdom of *sapientia*," who was to amaze Elene with the swiftness with which he had reached that wisdom–foreshadows with this retort his later role of Bishop, a role that will demand of him that he guide other catechumens through the initiation rites of Christian baptism. Read in this way, Judas' speech is a form of exorcism of those witnessing the event, as well as being his own renunciation of Satan. In this capacity it forms one of the stages in the catechumenate of the Jews who later receive baptism: they are "signed" by the raised Cross (ll. 883-889a), they confess their faith and offer praise to God (ll. 889b-98a); are exorcized by Judas (ll. 939-52), and finally they accept the truth of the faith in a subsequent symbolic declaration at the miracle of the finding of the nails (ll. 1120-25).

These parallels to the baptismal liturgy are, again, inexact and rather impressionistic ones, and I am by no means arguing that Cynewulf adhered in any kind of strict fashion to the liturgy for baptism set out by the Sacramentary with which he was familiar.[53] Cynewulf was, after all, following the narrative of the legend he used as his source, not providing a blow-by-blow account of the catechumenate and baptism of a new Christian. I do, however, believe that he capitalized on and expanded

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[53] Whichever that may have been. Our knowledge of the exact forms of the liturgy used during this period (and indeed the period during which Cynewulf lived) is inexact and fragmentary. For the purposes of this discussion I have referred to the collection of baptismal documents cited by Regan (Whitaker; see note 49, above). My comments on perceived parallels between the liturgy and *Elene* are based on the contents of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is known to have been in use in England during the eighth and ninth centuries. For more on liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England, see Helmut Gneuss, "Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology." In *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss. 91-141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. On the Gelasioan Sacramentary, and its relationship to the Gregorian, in the England of Cynewulf's day, see Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1972, pp. 168-90 and Appendix II.

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certain details–most of which I have touched on here–which his *ruminatio* of the text led him to associate with the baptismal liturgy. The multivalent and overlapping roles of Judas as catechumen and baptismal exorcist, I would argue, is one result of Cynewulf's awareness of the symbolism and liturgical overtones he perceived in the *Inventio Crucis* legend. By dispelling any doubt concerning Satan's presence and role in the confrontation with Judas, by bringing out in full relief all of the baptismal imagery present in his source text, Cynewulf "'marks', as it were, the meaning of this episode by significant allusion."[54]

I have by no means exhausted the baptismal imagery that the poem *Elene* might be shown to reveal. It has long been known that certain Old English religious poems were modelled in whole or part on the liturgy. At the same time, I would not suggest that *Elene* exhibits the same kind or degree of liturgical patterning as, for example, the OE *Descent into Hell* of the Exeter Book, for despite the parallels between the central action of Judas' conversion and the baptismal liturgy there are some significant differences as well.[55] Concerning Cynewulf's choice of subject matter for his poems, however, Kenneth Sisam has concluded that, "All that can safely be said is that his subjects are suggested by the calendar and the services of the Church."[56]

Given this view it is a reasonable question to ask just which day in the Christian calendar or which services influenced Cynewulf. The feast that naturally suggests itself in this context is that of the Invention of the

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[54] Hill, "Bread and Stone," p. 256.

[55] On the liturgy and the OE *Descent into Hell*, see Patrick W. Conner, "The Liturgy and the Old English 'Descent into Hell'." *JEGP* 79 (1980): 179-191.

[56] Sisam, Kenneth. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, pp. 12-13, note 1.

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Cross, which, as Sisam observes, derived from France and was established in England before the end of the eighth century. Both Sisam and Regan imply that it was this feast which exerted the main influence on Cynewulf's adaptation, though neither scholar comments explicitly on liturgical echoes.[57] Indeed, the poem itself mentions this feast, following its source in reporting how Helen called upon all Christians to honor the day on which the Cross was found: "Wæs þa lencten agan / butan vi nihtum ær sumeres cyme / on Maias Kl." (1226b-28a: Spring had approached to within 6 days of Summer's arrival in the month of May). While the feast of May 3rd and *Elene* are obviously concerned with the same legendary material, there is very little in the service of the feast of the Invention of the Cross to recommend it as any but the most casual dramatic "source" of inspiration for Cynewulf's poem.

If we were to make the case that Cynewulf's subject for *Elene* was "suggested by the calendar and the services of the church," then we might more profitably look to other feasts which provide more striking or suggestive parallels. There are a number of details in the poem that suggest Cynewulf may have been influenced by the liturgy for Holy Saturday, not least of which is the baptismal imagery discussed so far, for certainly in the early Church Holy Saturday was (together with Pentecost) the day of "le grande Baptisme," as it were. Another possible connection is the emphasis Cynewulf places in his poem on the imagery of light versus darkness.[58] Nowhere in the liturgy does this imagery seem so prevalent as in that for Holy Saturday, for it is there that the service for the Easter Vigil opens

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[57] Sisam, *Studies*, p. 14, and Regan, p. 28. Regan misquotes Sisam and transposes the modern day of the feast (May 4th) for that of the medieval feast (May 3rd) in her article.
[58] See Robert Stepsis and Richard Rand, "Contrast and Conversion in Cynewulf's *Elene*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969): 273-82.

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with the lighting of the new fire and the blessing of the paschal candle, a ritual omitted in the liturgy for the other great day of baptism, Whitsunday.

Likewise, Cynewulf's pointed emphasis on the miracle of the resurrection of the youth taking place at the ninth hour may be significant as well. Whereas the *Acta Cyriaci* mentions this but once, Cynewulf includes it twice, the first instance (not present in his source) being much embellished. In the Latin, the crosses have been carried into the city, when the narrator simply reports: "Et circa ora nona ferebatur mortuus quidam iuvenis in gravatum." The little scene Cynewulf evokes, on the other hand, is strongly suggestive of a liturgical situation:

> Gesæton sigerofe, sang ahofon,
> rædþeahtende, ymb þa rode þreo
> oð þa nigoðan tid, hæfdon neowne gefean
> mærðum gemeted.
> (867-70a)[59]

A few lines later Cynewulf mentions this detail again, this time in the spot corresponding to the source. Anderson's remarks on this passage are apt: "The veneration of the crosses until the ninth hour [are] symbolically the first liturgical observance of the *inventio crucis*."[60] The possible connection of this detail with the liturgy for Holy Saturday pertains to the Easter Vigil service. As Kelly remarks, this service originally began after dark, but by the eighth century it was anticipated in the afternoon, and

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[59] "The judges, men of renown, sat there; they raised up their song around the three crosses until the ninth hour: they had in glory discovered a new happiness."
[60] *Cynewulf*, p. 137

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eventually moved back into the morning.[61] In at least one sacramentary, the *Ordo romanus*, this vigil was specified to begin a little after the ninth hour.[62] It deserves notice here that the *Regularis Concordia* stipulates that the aforementioned lighting of the new fire and the blessing of the paschal candle was to commence on Holy Saturday at the ninth hour: "Sabbato Sancto hora nona, ueniente abbate in ecclesiam cum fratribus, nouus, ut supradictum est, afferatur ignis. Posito uero cereo ante altare, ex illo accendatur igne."[63] Finally, to these potential associations we might add the one suggested by Stepsis and Rand, who point out (in addition to the lighting of the new fire) the ceremony re-enacting the burial (on Good Friday) and discovery (on Holy Saturday) of the Cross as described in the *Concordia Regularis*. It is "this association of the finding of the Cross with the symbolic illumination of the world" presented in the drama of the liturgy that may have prompted Cynewulf to develop these important themes in *Elene*.[64] The above remain, however, suggestions; a thorough study of all issues involved is needed before any more definite conclusions are justified.

The issue throughout this discussion has not necessarily been "what did Cynewulf add to his sources that was not there before?" but rather "what did he recognize in his sources, in terms of potential for thematic development?" It is the answer to this question that takes us closer to a better understanding of his use of demonology in this poem. With the advent of the Devil immediately following the raising of the Cross, the

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61 Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, p. 223.
62 Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, p. 223, note 64.
63 Thomas, Symons, ed. *Regularis Concordia*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953, p. 47
64 See p. 282, note 1; for the relevant passage in the *Concordia*, see Symons, p. 44-45.

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narrative shifts as it were to spiritual, liturgical time. Cynewulf is likely to have recognized the anomaly of Satan's personal appearance before Judas in his source, but it seems similarly clear that he recognized as well the symbolic force of that appearance. In any other saint's life or legend the situation might have called for the appearance of the "hagiographical demon." But in Cynewulf's treatment of the legend, which he perceived as being concerned primarily with the power of the Cross to effect spiritual revelation and salvation, the poet goes to great lengths to demonstrate his concern "with various aspects of the larger spiritual implications of this history of the discovery of the Cross."[65] As other critics have demonstrated, one of the means by which he does this is by presenting the conversion of Judas in terms of figural narrative. It is in just such a narratological situation that the appearance of the liturgical Devil is both effective and logical.

II.

Guthlac A and the Land of Canaan

The Old English *Guthlac A* is a poem about–among other things–a place, a piece of territory which Guthlac inhabits and whose possession he contests with demonic adversaries. This is a very prominent feature of the poem. The poet refers to the place where Guthlac lives over and over again with a wide variety of terms. It is a "beorg," a "wong," a "setl" and a

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65 Hill, "Sapiential Structure," p. 177.

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"bold." It is Guthlac's "eard," the "lond" which he inhabits and his "eþel," "ham" and "wic." It is also more generically a "stow." These terms recur with some frequency referring primarily to the particular place where Guthlac established his hermitage, but they also refer to the heavenly homeland towards which Guthlac is proceeding. Some indication of how important these terms are is suggested by how frequently they occur. The word "beorg" occurs twelve times, the word "wong" eight times; "setl" seven times, "bold" twice. The words "eard" and "lond" occur ten and eleven times respectively. "Eþel" and "ham" occur five times and eleven times. "Wic" four times and "stow" three times. These numbers suggest how insistently the theme of the land and its possession recur in the poem and this thematic concern is much more prominent in *Guthlac A* than in any other text in the quite extensive corpus of Guthlac material, Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, *Guthac B*, the OE prose life of *Guthlac* and so on.

A related theme in the poem concerns the notion of spiritual warfare, of conflict with demons, and this conflict is specifically defined as territorial in nature. The demons lift Guthlac on high to see the sins of others and they draw him down to the gates of hell. These two temptations are related and can be understood as two related extremes of the spiritual life, the temptation of pride in one's own asceticism (particularly in relation to other's weakness) and the temptation of despair over one's own weakness. They are motivated, however, to attack Guthlac because he has chosen to live in their territory and to deny them the rest and quiet which they had enjoyed on these hills.

The fact that *Guthlac A* is a poem concerned with the "land"–a particular piece of territory–can be illustrated by contrasting two passages

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at the beginning of the poem with one at the end. In the beginning of *Guthlac A*, Guthlac's home is described as follows:

> Wæs seo londes stow
> bimiþen fore monnum, oþþæt meotud onwrah
> beorg on bearwe, þa se bytla cwom
> se þær haligne ham arærde,
> nales þy he giemde þurh gitsunga
> lænes lifwelan, ac þæt lond gode
> fægre gefreoþode, siþþan feond oferwon
> Cristes cempa. He gecostad wearð
> in gemyndigra monna tidum,
> ðara þe nu gena þurh gæstlicu
> wundor hine weorðiað ond his wisdomes
> hlisan healdað, þæt se halga þeow
> elne geeode, þa he ana gesæt
> dygle stowe. Ðær he dryhtnes lof
> reahte ond rærde; oft þurh reorde abead,
> þam þe þrowera þeawas lufedon,
> godes ærendu...[66]

A few lines later the desolate and dangerous nature of this space is reemphasized.

> Stod seo dygle stow dryhtne in gemyndum
> idel ond æmen, eþelriehte feor,
> bad bisæce betran hyrdes.
> To þon ealdfeondas ondan noman,

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66 "That "londes stow" [land-place] was concealed before men–until the Lord revealed the "beorg" in the grove. Then the builder came he who raised up a holy home. He did not desire out of avarice transitory landwealth, but he, the warrior of Christ, pacified beautifully that land for God. He was tempted in the times of men who remember–those who now yet honor him in spiritual wonder and preserve the remembrance of his wisdom–that the holy servant went out valiently when he alone settled the mysterious place where he raised up and reckoned the praise of the lord. Often he praised aloud those who cherish the customs of the martyrs--the words of God." (ASPR III, ll. 146b-62a).

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swa hi singales sorge dreogað.
Ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan,
ne hy lyft swefeð in leoma ræstum,
ac hy hleolease hama þoliað,
in cearum cwiþað, cwealmes wiscað,
willen þæt him dryhten þurh deaðes cwealm
to hyra earfeða ende geryme.
Ne mostun hy Guðlaces gæste sceþþan,
ne þurh sarslege sawle gedælan
wið lichoman, ac hy ligesearwum
ahofun hearmstafas, hleahtor alegdon,
sorge seofedon, þa hi swiðra oferstag
weard on wonge. Sceoldon wræcmæcgas
ofgiefan gnornende grene beorgas.[67]

By the end of the poem, however, when the demons bear Guthlac back from the *portas inferni*, the same piece of land is transformed.

Sigehreðig cwom
bytla to þam beorge. Hine bletsadon
monge mægwlitas, meaglum reordum,
treofugla tuddor, tacnum cyðdon
eadges eftcyme. Oft he him æte heold,
þonne hy him hungrige ymb hond flugon
grædum gifre, geoce gefegon.
Swa þæt milde mod wið moncynnes
dreamum gedælde, dryhtne þeowde,

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67 "That secret place stood in the memory of the Lord, idle and desolate, far from [Guthlac's] native law-right. It awaited the occupation of a better guardian. At that the ancient enemies took offense even as they continually endure sorrow. They cannot enjoy "eard" on earth, nor do they sleep in the sky resting their limbs but they shelterless do without homes lament in their sorrows wish for death. They would that the Lord should appoint an end to their hardships through the violence of death. They might not harm Guthlac's spirit nor part soul from the body, but they in lie-snares raised up harm-staves, laid aside laughter, seethed in sorrow when the mighty one overcame them–the guardian on the plain. That exile-kin must give up lamenting the green hills." (ll. 215-32).

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genom him to wildeorum wynne, siþþan he þas woruld forhogde.
Smolt wæs se sigewong ond sele niwe,
fæger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
geacas gear budon. Guþlac moste
eadig ond onmod eardes brucan.
Stod se grena wong in godes wære;
hæfde se heorde, se þe of heofonum cwom,
feondas afyrde. Hwylc wæs fægerra
willa geworden in wera life,
þara þe yldran usse gemunde,
oþþe we selfe siþþan cuþen?[68]

The "beorg" that was "idel and aemen" has become a blessed place–quite literally. Many "maegwlitas. . .treofugla tuoddor" welcome the return of the "eadig" one. In a manner reminiscent of St. Francis, Guthlac has nourished them and they rejoice at his return. The "beorg" has become a "sigewong"–a plain of victory–and it is a green plain which is under the protection of God. This transformation of the "beorg" into a "plain" recalls, in fact, the words of the prophet Isaiah: "Omnis vallis exaltabitur et monis mons et collis humiliabatur et erunt prava in directa et aspera in vias planas."[69]

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[68] "The builder victory-happy came to that hill. Many creatures blessed him, the off-spring of birds. They made known by signs the return of the blessed one. Often he preserved them with nourishment when they hungry flew about his hands ravenously greedy–they rejoiced in his help. Thus that mild-hearted man set apart from the joys of mankind served the Lord. He took joy in wild creatures after he despised the joys of the world. That victory-place was peaceful and the hall was new; the voice of the birds was beautiful. The earth blossomed. Cuckoos announced the seasons. Guthlac blessed and resolute could enjoy that dwelling-place. That green plain stood under God's covenant. That guardian who came from the heavens had expelled the enemies. What was more beautiful of joys come about of those which our elders remembered or we ourselves knew thereafter. . ." (ll. 732a-751).

[69] Isaiah 40:4. "Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain." Thanks to Professor Carol V. Kaske for pointing this out.

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This thematic pattern in the poem has attracted some attention. Scholars have suggested that this transformation of the "beorg" reflects the spiritual growth and development of Guthlac from afflicted novice to secure spiritual authority. Guthlac's growth in perfection is thus reflected in the landscape of his "beorg." Such suggestions seem to me plausible and persuasive and in particular a comment made by L. K. Shook who suggests that Guthlac's "beorg" was on a pagan burial mound, a "barrow" in the modern sense, and thus a place in which diabolic power might be presumed to be particularly potent, is illuminating and interesting.[70] Pagan burial mounds must have seemed uncanny to Christian Anglo-Saxons and while the relevant passage in *Beowulf* is textually obscure, it is clear that the mound in which the dragon's heathen treasure rests is a magical and dangerous place in that poem. It is also true, however, that the *Guthlac A*-poet does not emphasize the pagan associations of the "beorg" particularly. Thus this suggestion is really more important for the development of the Guthlac-legend as a whole than for this particular poem.

If it seems plausible that the "beorg" is a symbolic locus in the poem and that Guthlac's spiritual and inner victory is reflected in the outer landscape, a crucial question which, as far as I am aware, has yet to be answered, concerns the nature and the purpose of Guthlac's conflict with the demons. In what sense do the demons possess the "beorg" before Guthlac arrives to claim it and how and why does Guthlac's presence threaten their possession of this *locus*? The second question is simpler than the first. The holy and the demonic are inevitable and absolutely opposed. (It might also be noted that they are inextricably involved–without demonic

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[70] Laurence K. Shook, "The Burial Mound in Guthlac A." *Modern Philology* 58 (1960): 1-10, at p. 4.

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opponents Guthlac would not have had much to do on his solitary "beorh." The demons are fulfilling one of their primary doctrinal and narrative functions here, i.e. the temptation of man.) Devils cannot abide holiness and they must depart when Guthlac arrives.

But why do Guthlac's demonic opponents desire this particular piece of land and in what sense was it ever theirs? Angels cannot dance on the head of a pin–how can demons find repose on a pagan barrow? L. K. Shook in his papers on this poem cites such texts as *The Life of St. Brendan* or *The Vision of St. Paul*; and the widely diffused motif of the respite of the damned as analogues, but when one considers these texts, it is clear that they do not parallel *Guthlac A* in important respects. In *The Life of St. Brendan*, Brendan does come upon fallen angels who are at rest. These angels, however, are the so-called neutral angels who did not fall as deeply as the true devils and who anticipate being restored to their primordial bliss at the end of time. Again, these angels are in no sense opponents of Brendan and his companions and they make no opposition to his journey. They, like Brendan and his companions, are travelers who are seeking the good. Similar objections can be raised to the more general analogue of the respite of the damned in the *Visio Sancti Pauli* and related texts.

Perhaps the place to begin in considering this problem is to define the terms in which we consider this poem with some care. Guthlac's "beorg" is a desolate place–a "desertus," a place that is deserted but not necessarily a "desert" in the modern English sense of the term. By the end of the poem his "desertus" has become a garden in which he lives in harmony with nature. His life in the fens exemplifies the monastic virtue of stability, but it can be seen as a journey from a "desert" to a garden and this is a journey which has inevitable Biblical overtones. Adam, after all,

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left Eden, a garden, and Adam and all his descendents lived in the desert of this world. The Old Testament history of Israel is the story of the journey of that nation from the desert to the rich fertility of the promised land and the contrast between the two is a central theme in the Old Testament. To quote a passage from Isaiah which seems strikingly relevant to the theme of the desert made fruitful in *Guthlac A*, "consolabitur ergo Dominus Sion, et consolabitur omnes ruinas eius: et ponet desertum eius quasi delicias, et solitudinem eius quasi hortum Domini (Isaiah 51:3)." "The Lord therefore will comfort Sion: and will comfort all the ruins thereof. And he will make her desert as a place of pleasure and her wilderness as the garden of the Lord." In Christian thought from Paul on, "desert" and "promised land" are metaphors for the goal and the process of salvation-history. More specifically, the immediate "type" of Guthlac's temptation in his "desert" is Christ's own temptation in the desert; and a gloss which Ambrose suggests on that moment of Christ's career seems relevant to Guthlac's life as presented in the poem:

> Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a spiritus, ut temptaretur a diabolo. Convenit recordari quemadmodum de paradiso in desertum Adam primus eiectus sit, at advertas quemadmodum de deserto ad paradisum Adam secundus reuerterit.[71]

Guthlac's life is an imitation of Christ's; like Christ he goes into the desert to undo, as it were, the journey of Adam and the sign that he has succeeded, which ratifies his victory over the demons, is the fact that his

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71 "Then Jesus was led into the desert by the Spirit so that he might be tempted by the devil. It is necessary to be mindful how the first Adam was cast out from paradise into the desert so that you might note how the second Adam returned from the desert to paradise." *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 4:7 (on Luke 4:1ff), CSEL 32.4, p. 152.

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desert becomes fruitful. Guthlac's life thus realizes quite literally the Augustinian metaphor of the "ubera deserta eremi" (*Confessions* 8:6).

If *Guthlac A* is about the land and how a desert land became beautiful, it is also a poem about conflict, about warfare against demons who claim that they possess the land and that Guthlac is an interloper, and in order to understand the poem we need to understand this claim. In theological terms God the creator made all creation; there is no such thing as a wicked "place." The devil and his demons have created nothing and possess nothing. How can these demons claim this place?

There is, however, a Biblical historical prototype for the conflict between Guthlac and his demonic opponents. When Israel came out of its wanderings in the desert to take possession of the holy land, it was not empty but occupied by various nations among whom the Canaanites were prominent. The Holy Land was then the land of Canaan until little by little, Israel drove the Canaanites out and took possession of the land (Exodus 23:30). This historical conflict was read allegorically by patristic and medieval exegetes. From Origen on the "moral" reading of these episodes in the Bible was straightforward. The Canaanites and the other nations against whom Israel fought were the powers of evil and sin itself. In conquering the Holy Land, Israel was overcoming the world and the devil and establishing the Kingdom of God. Thus the historical struggles of ancient Israel against her national adversaries was moralized as the inner struggle of individual Christians against spiritual adversaries. This Biblical parallel provides a general framework in which we can understand Guthlac's struggle against demonic adversaries and there are a number of details in the poem which suggest that the poet thought of Guthlac's struggle in these terms.

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One curious aspect of the poem is that the demons twice offer to negotiate with Guthlac. In line 280, as part of an effort to persuade Guthlac to leave, the demons assure him that "we þe beoþ holde gif ðu us hyran wilt." (We will be faithful to you if you will obey us.) Again, before the second assault, the demons urge friendship on Guthlac:

> No we þe þus swiðe swencan þorftan
> þaer þu fromlice freonda larum
> hyran wolde.[72]

Guthlac refuses this strange friendship and this refusal is paralleled by the command that Israel not join in friendship with the Canaanites and the other nations who possessed the Holy Land (Exodus 34:12 etc.). The possibility of friendship with demons becomes more credible if they are seen as analogues to the Canaanites, who are, after all, human.

Again, Guthlac is described at one point as a "foregengan" whom God has himself established against hostile deadly enemies. The term "foregengan" is a *hapax legomonon* which is translated as "advanced guard" or "forerunner" by the most recent editor of *Guthlac A*. An immediate Biblical association which would account for the elements of the compound and would explain its use in context clearly are the stories concerning the spies who were sent ahead of the armies of Israel to spy out the promised land. (The story of the prostitute Rahab in the city of Jericho is probably the most famous spy narrative, but there are a number of such spies mentioned in Joshua and the other conquest narratives.) Guthlac is indeed a "foregenga" in precisely this sense. He goes ahead of the Church

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72 "Now we do not need to afflict you so mightily if you valiantly would obey the teaching of friends." ASPR III, ll. 452-54.

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and explores hostile territory and our poet says that God himself appointed him for that task.

Perhaps more important than any single crux is the fact that understanding the poem in these terms permits us to see the point of the poet's almost obsessive concern for the land and the "beorg." This concern seems historically pointless since Guthlac's hermitage reverted to wilderness after the saint's death. There was no monastery or church established at the site of Guthlac's hermitage. A skeptic would be tempted to suggest that in the end the demons won. Such a reading, however, ignores the metaphorical force of the theme of the possession of the land in a Biblically ordered understanding of history.

No one has claimed–or would claim–that *Guthlac A* is a great poem or that the symbolism of the poem is extraordinarily rich and complex. But in depicting Guthlac's years of eremetic prayer and poverty as combat for the possession of the land, the *Guthlac A* poet was exploiting a rich Biblical theme which an extensive tradition of allegoresis had invested with appropriate symbolic meaning. Centuries later another English poet exploited the same Biblical traditions in a famous poem in which he spoke of "dark Satanic mills" and of building Jerusalem "in England's green and pleasant land." *Guthlac A* is certainly not a romantic lyric, but the Old English poet might well have found Blake's poem congenial since he too wrote of warfare against Satanic powers and his hero, Guthlac, was similarly engaged in building Jerusalem on England's green hills.[73]

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[73] I would like to thank Thomas D. Hill for pointing out the relevance of Blake's use of this imagery in his "Milton, a Poem in Two Books": "And did those feet in ancient time..."

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Chapter Five

"Guardian Angel, Attendant Demon: Spiritual Combat Motifs in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art."

Quis vel sermo exprimet, vel intellectus tandem capiet,
quam calamitatem necessario subiturus es, quando
instabit a corpore separatio? Daemones male feriati cum
tumultu advenient, chirographa et peccatorum acervos
apportantes. Angeli humaniter ea per trutinam examinabunt,
quibus daemones graviora tua crimina adiicient.
(Philippus Solitarius, "Dioptra"; 1096)

As we have seen in Chapter Four, the combat between saint and demon is a commonplace of hagiography. It is one of the moments that sets the saint apart by virtue of his/her discernment of spirits and ability to withstand and defeat the tempters of mankind; such moments echo and confirm Gregory's assertion that the Devil and his demons cannot harm the Lord's Elect, only test them, itself a major theme of all Christian hagiography and one of the most important lessons held up as an example to all who read or heard these stories. In Old English poetry the stakes in the contest between saint and demon are aptly defined in the opening lines of *Guthlac A*, which describe the meeting of two spiritual beings, a soul departed from its body at death and a guiding angel coming to escort it to heaven. In those lines the joys of heaven are outlined, and the quality of life in the heavenly City described. The angel continues:

> Þider soðfæstra sawla motun
> cuman æfter cwealme, þa þe her Cristes æ

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læraþ ond læstaþ, ond his lof ræraþ;
oferwinnaþ ða awyrgdan gæstas, bigytaþ him wuldres ræste,
hwider sceal ðæs monnes mod astigan,
ær oððe æfter, ðonne he his ænne her
gæst bigonge, ðæt se gode mote,
womma clæne, in geweald cuman.
(22-29)

The reward for those who defeat the accursed spirits ("oferwinnaþ þa awyrgdan gæstas"; 25) in this struggle is "the repose of heaven" ("wuldres ræste"; 25). One detail in this passage is of particular interest for the discussion that follows, namely that these blessed souls receive their reward immediately after their deaths: "Þider soþfæstra sawla motun cuman æfter cwealme" (22-23).

In the previous chapter I have considered the narrative "traffic" of cross-over from the spiritual world to the physical, earthly realm: the actions of demons in this world. In this chapter I am concerned with traffic in the other direction, with accounts of demonic activity in the spiritual world. Such activity embraces a number of motifs and narrative situations that are anchored on differing temporal and spatial planes. One such is the group of texts that constitute the *descensus* tradition, the most important representative of which is the apocryphal *Gospel of Nichodemus*. The Devil and his minions play a set–and limited–role in these narratives, where the action is situated in hell, and the main theme is the redemptive harrowing of hell and release of the righteous from Satan's power and the binding of the Chief Devil himself. This important event has an obvious and precise temporal orientation: it takes place immediately after Christ's passion, at the very beginning of the new Christian era. While this event

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obviously involves a combat motif, it will not feature in any prominent way in the following discussion.

Another absolutely essential event in Christian salvation history in which the Devil and demons feature in a narratologically significant way is the Last Judgment. The Devil himself has a major role to play as the driving and often creative force behind the advent of the Antichrist in the indeterminate time leading up to this event, the time which in fact constitutes the third Gregorian period in the career of Satan.[1] This chapter in Satan's "mundane existence" falls outside the scope of this study as well. But while Satan remains in the background in Judgment scenes, his lesser demons have an important if rather obvious role in narratives dealing with the Last Judgment, for they greedily await the weighing of the souls and the outcome of Christ's doom, and it is they who lay hold of the damned and drag them down to hell. This event differs from the others we have considered here in that its temporal situation, if not necessarily its geographical one, is eminently indeterminate. It is an event that has yet to transpire, that lies somewhere in the future, though just how far off that future lies was a matter of debate, and opinions on it varied from age to age. To be sure, the function of demons in scenes of judgment involves a conflict, especially in texts that list as one of the Signs of Doomsday a great battle between the blessed and the angels on one side, and the demons of

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[1] Opinion varied widely as to what Satan's exact role would be in the advent of the Antichrist. Besides the general view that all sinners were Antichrists, there existed the particularly ancient belief that Satan himself would foster a final and individual Antichrist for the last struggle against the kingdom of God. This was the view held by Adso of Monter-en-Der in his influential *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* (CCCM 45). Still other opinions were that Satan himself would be "reincarnated" as the Antichrist (cf. Gregory in his *Moralia*, Bk. IV, c. 9), or that he would be Satan's son, or the leader of his armies.

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hell on the other.[2] But on the whole this is a contest whose outcome is determined beforehand, and as such the stature of the demons who make their appearance is, from a narrative viewpoint, a relatively minor one.

A third important narrative event falls chronologically in between the two touched on above. It involves an opposite directional movement to that found in the saints' Lives, for instead of a spiritual being crossing over into the physical world, it portrays the transition from the physical to the spiritual plane, when a soul leaves this world and enters the next. The literary genre in which this contest is narrated is that of the *visio*, among which it is useful to distinguish between visions of the "temporarily" dead, and accounts of a soul departing its body for good. This genre enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the middle ages, and it is important for our discussion precisely because of the recurrent thematic concern in these narratives with individual post-mortem judgment. The motifs we are most interested in involve combat between angel and demon. As we shall see, this combat could take many forms, and in those narratives that incorporate the motif, it was this struggle that typically decided the ultimate fate of an individual soul at death.

The following discussion deals with the function and various manifestations of this struggle between angel and demon in a range of homilies and *visio* narratives in Latin and Old English. It traces the development of these combat motifs, moving towards some conclusions concerning their relation to such larger issues as individual vs collective

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[2] See especially the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Thomas*, Vercelli homily XV (Szarmach, Paul E., ed. *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*. Toronto Old English Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981; p. 36), and Blickling 7 (Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 94), which follow that text in situating this battle of spiritual powers on the sixth day before Judgment. On the tradition of the Fifteen signs before Doomsday, see Heist, W. W. *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday*. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952.

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judgment, the so-called "birth" of purgatory, and the importance of intercessory prayer. One of the most interesting and important "texts" which reflects these developments is, however, not a written text in the conventional sense but one of the best known compositions in Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination, the drawings in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, MS Stowe 944. This composition has, almost without exception, been misunderstood and incorrectly defined by art historians. Drawing on the large corpus of *visio* literature–including hitherto unnoticed visual and textual analogues–I shall demonstrate that this drawing in fact participates in that same tradition; that it is not, as most have labelled it, a depiction of the collective Last Judgment; and that as such it is to be reckoned among the earliest iconographic representations of individual postmortem judgment, as well as an oblique allusion to the developing belief in Purgatory. The composition constitutes an important monument illustrating the convergence of "popular" and learned lore, of oral and literate culture, and of text and image in Late Anglo-Saxon England. In such textual and visual representations, then, the members of Satan's *corpus malorum* play a central narrative role in the drama of the individual judgment that takes place between the end of one's existence in this world, and the Second coming of Christ at the end of time.

I.

Before we move on to examine motifs of spiritual combat that take place in the Other World, we must consider a related motif that functions, I believe, as a kind of prelude to those struggles. It, too, is ultimately concerned with the fate of the individual, and as such it is very relevant to our discussion of the spiritual combat in death-day situations. The notion

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that each man or woman had a guardian angel assigned to him or her, and that this guardian vied for influence over that person's thoughts and deeds with its demonic counterpart, can be traced to the very beginnings of the Christian tradition, and may well be derived from the Judaic view that every man was accompanied by an angel of justice and an angel of wickedness.[3] Origen held this belief, as did Hermas, author of the *Shepherd*, to name but two representatives of the Eastern Church.[4] In the Latin West the belief seems to have been a widespread one, despite the fact that neither Augustine nor Gregory the Great endorsed it explicitly. It was a commonly held belief in Anglo-Saxon England as well. Before turning to the instances of this notion in the narrative poetry, I should first like to examine three witnesses to the belief in prose texts from the Anglo-Saxon

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[3] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Angels*. For a discussion of the origin of this doctrine, see Jean Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* Paris, 1958.

[4] Origen, *Homilia in Lucam* 12: "Unicuique duo assistunt angeli, alter justitiae, alter iniquitatis. Si bonae cogitationes in corde nostro fuerint, et in animo justitia pullularit, haud dubium quin nobis loquatur angelus Domini. Si vero mala fuerint in nostro corde versata, loquitur nobis angelus diaboli." [For everyone is influenced by two angels, one of justice and the other of iniquity. If there are good thoughts in our heart, there is no doubt that the angel of the Lord is speaking to us. But if evil things come into our heart, the angel of the evil one is speaking to us.] PG 13, col. 1829. *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Mand. 6.2: "There are two angels with man; one of righteousness, the other of iniquity . . . . The angel of righteousness is mild, and modest, and gentle and quiet. Whenever, therefore, he gets into thy heart, immediately he talks with thee of righteousness, of modesty, of chastity, of bountifulness, of forgiveness, of charity, and piety. When all these things come into thy heart, know then that the angel of righteousness is with thee. Wherefore hearken to this angel, and to his works. Learn also the works of the angel of iniquity. He is, first of all, bitter, and angry, and foolish, and his works are pernicious, and overthrow the servants of God. When, therefore, these things come into thy heart, thou shalt know, by his works, that this is the angel of iniquity. ..: Seeing therefore, thou knowest his works, depart from them all, and give no credit to him; because his works are evil, and become not servants of God. Here, therefore, thou hast the works of both these angels. Understand now, and believe the angel of righteousness, because his instruction is good. For let a man be never so happy, yet if the thoughts of the other angel rise in his heart, that man or woman must needs sin. But let a man or woman be never so wicked, if the works of the angel of righteousness come into his heart, that man or woman must needs do some good." Translation from Edward Burton, ed. and trans. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1909, pp. 238-39. For the evidence concerning knowledge of this text among the Anglo-Saxons, see Charles D. Wright, "Shepherd of Hermas," in Biggs, et al., *SASLC: A Trial Version*, pp. 63-65.

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period. Besides providing proof of the currency of this idea, they are in certain details suggestive for our assessment of representations of spiritual combat between angels and devils situated in the Otherworld, the subject of the next section.

The first text is from one of the homilies in the Vercelli book, number IV. This homily deals with the Final Judgment, and it incorporates another motif of interest to us in this chapter, namely the address of the soul to the body. Like the other instances of this motif in Old English prose, this account has shifted the temporal orientation of the soul and body "debate" from the moment of death to a Final Judgment context. The homilist describes the souls, one good, one bad, being reunited with their bodies at the Resurrection, following which the soul in question praises or berates her former home according to its merits. The Lord's judgment is pronounced at the end of each such discourse in the words of Matt. 25: 34 and 25: 41, respectively. Once the sinful soul and her body have been banished to hell, the homilist shifts metaphors to speak in more general terms of the powers of the Devil and the protective graces of the guardian angels. The Devil, we are told, has constructed bows and arrows with which the damned, but also those still living here on earth, are constantly sought out as targets.[5] The arrows are "constructed" from a multitude of

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[5] To be considered in this context is the well-known passage in *Beowulf*, ll. 1740 ff., which describes how when arrogance waxes in a man's heart, and the guardian angel sleeps ("Þonne se weard swefeð, / sawele hyrde"), the "murderer" is nearby and shoots a bitter arrow ("biteran straele") of sin: "bona swiðe neah, / se þe of flanbogan fyrenum sceoteð" (1743b-44). When the guardian angel sleeps, such a man is unable to protect himself from being stricken with the evil, mysterious commands of the accursed devil ("wom wundorbebodum wergan gastes," 1747). Further uses of the motif of the arrows of sin are found in *Juliana*, 352 ff., and in *Vainglory*, where the "feondes fligepilum feature at line 27 ff. For a discussion of the motif in these last two poems, see James F. Doubleday, "The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry." *Anglia* 88 (1970), 503-8. Compare as well similar imagery in Ephesians 6: 13-17. While the notion of taking up spiritual armor may be as old as this (or older), the chief difference between

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evils and vices. Hatred, envy, anger, hotheartedness, drunkenness, secret harlotry, adultery, witchcraft, avarice, wrath, plunder, murder and thievery are some of the materials from which the devils' projectiles are made. It is with such weapons that the demons of hell attack men daily. But the angels who watch over us are armed with shields made from potent spiritual materials. Among these shields with which the angels guard us are those of wisdom, caution, constancy in good works, mercy, humility, true faith, alms and fasting, and courtesy and innocence. We have, the homilist tells us, two "hyrdas":

> Ælce dæge [we] hæbbaþ twegen hyrdas: oþer cymþ ufan of heofonum, ðe us sceall gode bysene on-stellan ond us gode ðeawas tæcan, ond hæfþ him on handa ða scyldas, ðe ic ær nemde, ond ðæt sweord, ond wyle us forstandan æt ðam awyrgdan diofle, ðe of ðære stylenan helle cymþ mid his scearpum strælum us mid to scotianne.[6]

Thus the daily struggle to do good and avoid sin is described in terms of a combat between angels and devils.

The second prose text that testifies to the belief in guardian angels is found in one of the homilies formerly attributed to Wulfstan. This homily is an important one for our purposes as it contains a number of relevant motifs:[7]

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the use of this imagery in this homily and *Beowulf* is the reference to the guardian angel. In the Pauline text, the individual in question is admonished to don the armor himself. This is, admittedly, a slight though potentially significant difference in the use of this imagery.

6 Vercelli Homily IV, ed. Förster.

7 These include the guardian angels and attendant demons; the recording in writing of the soul's good and bad deeds; the vision of the fate of good and bad souls from the *Visio Pauli*, and the Three Utterances of the Soul motif from the same; the idea of "Abraham's Bosom" as the place of rest between death and Doomsday for the blessed; the weighing of the souls at Doomsday and the Soul and Body "debate," situated also at the Last Judgment.

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ðonne is hit gecweden on halgum bocum, þæt ælc man hæfð twegen lareowas on dæg and twegen on niht, oðer us læreð to heofona rices wuldre, þæt is godes engel, oþer us lærð to hellewites brogan, þæs nama is deofol. ðonne to sunnan upgange þonne bringað hy gode on gewrite, se engel eall, þæt we on ðære nihte to gode gedoð, and se deofol eall, þæt we to yfele gedoð and gefremmað, and wile oferstælan þone engel, gif he mæg, mid þam yfelum weorcum. and hy cumað to sunnan setlgange and bringað gode eall, þæt we to gode gedoð and eac to yfele. and swa hy us eac lædað into cyrican, þonne lærð us godes engel stilnesse and gemetlice spræce and smeaunge ymbe godes beboda and we gehyrað ures drihtnes lofsangas þærinne, and þæt we habban gastlice þeawas and bebodu æt urum heortum and herigen urne scyppend ealra gesceafta. þonne lærð us se deofol unstilnesse and ungemetlice hleahtras and unnytte spræce and unnytte geþancas and tælnesse and treowleasnesse godes beboda. ðonne se ðe oðerne tælan wille, þonne gange he ærest on digle stowe and besceawige hine sylfne and beþence hine sylfne and beðence, hwæðer hine ne mæge ænig man getælan. ne bið þeah næfre nan man leahterleas ne synleas ealra þinga.wa ðæs mannes sawle, þe ða unnyttan spræca sprecð and þa ungemetlican hleahtras drifð innan cyrcan, and eac þam men, þe wyrigeð his fæder oðde his moder oðde his hlaford oðde his biscop oðde his scrift.[8]

The struggle between the angel and the devil is here described in terms of competing moral counselors; whereas in the Vercelli homily the imagery is military–the devils letting loose arrows of sin which the angels deflect with their shields of virtue–in this text the means to moral ends are expressed in intellectual terms: the demons and angels (here "lareowas" rather than "hyrdas") attempt to persuade their ward by means of their teaching. It warrants note that their recording of the good and bad deeds "on gewrite"

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[8] Larspell, Napier xlvi, p. 233.

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is an important motif that we shall encounter later. Furthermore, I should mention that this homily is one of the few texts I have encountered that includes examples of the two combat motifs we are concerned with here. That is to say that we find both the daily spiritual combat between angel and demon in this world, as well as a similar contest in the next. The homilist has taken the latter from the *Visio Pauli*, and hence will be discussed below, but there remains one relevant motif to be mentioned at this point, namely that the postmortem fate of the disembodied souls of the virtuous is certain: "and sceal beon seo gode sawel on Abrahames fæþmum oþ domes dæg."

The third witness I wish to cite in this context is a prayer presumably written by a nun of the Nunnaminster at Winchester in the late eleventh or early twelfth century:

> Credo quod sis angelus sanctus a deo omnipotente ad custodiam mei deputatus. Propterea peto, et per illum qui te ad hoc ordinauit humiliter imploro, ut me miseram, fragilem atque indignam semper et ubique in hac uita custodias, protegas a malis omnibus atque defendas, et, cum deus hinc animam meam migrare iusserit, nullam in eam potestatem demonibus habere permittas, sed tu eam leniter a corpore suscipias, et in sinu Habrae suauiter usque perducas, iubente ac iuuante creatore ac saluatore deo nostro, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum amen.[9]

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[9] The text was inserted into a book compiled by Ælfwin, abbot of Newminster, in the first half of the eleventh century. The manuscript is Cotton Titus D XXVII. For a discussion of its contents and Ælfwin's authorship, see Walter de Gray Birch, "On Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the British Museum." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 11 (1878): 463-512. This text is taken from that printed by André Wilmart in *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévot du Moyen Age Latin*. Études D'Histoire Littéraire, Paris: 1932, at pp. 543-44.

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Again, besides the status of this prayer as a witness to the belief in guardian angels (and, by extension, attendant demons, the evil one of the "hyrdas" mentioned in the Vercelli homily), this text is of some interest for other features. First, although it does not mention a conflict between angel and devil in any explicit way, it does situate this implicit and imminent event at the time of the going out of the nun's soul ("cum deus hinc animam meam migrare iusserit"), when either one or the other of the spiritual "hyrdas" will claim her as theirs. The implication here is that the guardian angel, who in this life watched over her, will be the same one whom she hopes will lead her to a place of rest where she will await the general Resurrection and Judgment. And this leads us to the second feature of interest in this prayer, namely the explicit identification of that place as "Abraham's Bosom" ("sinu Habrae"). As we shall see, most narrative treatments of the Soul and Body topos in Old English situate the "debate" not at the time of death, but sometime thereafter or even, quite frequently, at the Final Judgment. While this text is not strictly speaking a participant in that tradition, it *is* concerned with the fate of the individual soul, and it situates the first decision concerning that fate at the moment of death, not the Final Judgment.

How did the Anglo-Saxon poets deal with the notion of guardian angels and attendant demons? To begin with, that protection of the souls of man was perceived as one of the angels' functions is illustrated, for example, in *Genesis A*, where the recently fallen angels are referred to as "gasta weardas" even as they are thrust into hell.[10]

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[10] At line 41a.

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The motif does not appear frequently in the poetic corpus, yet its extant witnesses are relatively full and suggestive. The following passage occurs in the second poetic dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, i.e. *Solomon and Saturn,*

Salomon cwæþ:
Æghwylc(um men) engel onsendeð
Dryhten heo(fona þonne dæg styr)eð;
se sceall behealdan hu his hyge (wille)
(græ)dig growan in Godes willan,
murnan Metodes ðrym, mid ðy ðe hit dæg bið.
Ðonne hine ymbegangað gastas twegen:
oðer bið golde glædra, oðer bið grundum sweartra;
oðer cymeð . . . . . .
. . . . . ofer ðære stylenan helle;
oðer him læreð ðæt he lufan healde
Metodes miltse and his mæga ræd;
oðer hine tyhteð and on tæso læreð,
yweð him and yppeð earmra manna
misgemynda, and ðurh ðæt his mod hweteð,
lædeð hine and læceð and hine geond land spaneð,
oððæt his ege bið æðancum full,
ðurh earmra scyld yrre geworden.
Swa ðonne feohteð se feond dæglongne fyrst,
and ðæs willan wyrcð ðe hine on woh spaneð.
Gewiteð ðonne wepende on weg faran
engel to his earde and ðæt eall sagað:
'Ne meahte ic of ðære heortan heardne aðringan
stylenne stan, sticað him tomiddes.'[11]

11 ASPR VI, 483-506. Emendations supplied from Menner.

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Like the Vercelli and Pseudo-Wulfstan homilies, this passage depicts the functions of the two "hyrdas" in terms of spiritual combat. Initially the function of the angel would seem to be that of monitor and adviser, one who has been sent to gauge the degree to which the individual grows in spiritual eagerness to follow God ("se sceall behealdan hu his hyge (wille) / (græ)dig growan in Godes willan"). This monitoring function can take different forms, and one notable variant, as we saw in the Pseudo-Wulfstan homily, is the daily recording of each person's deeds and thoughts in writing.

In fact, the poetic dialogue cited above parallels the prose account in the Pseudo-Wulfstan homily rather closely up to a point. In both, the angels "monitor" the progress of the soul, though in the homily the spirit records, whereas in the poem he merely watches. In both accounts the struggle evolves into one of clashing counsel, each envoy vying with the other to influence the thoughts and deeds of the subject.

The presentation of the guardian spirits in *Guthlac A* is similar in basic outline to that of the *Solomon and Saturn* dialogue. Guthlac is accompanied for a time in his life by two spirits, an angel sent by the Lord, and a devil. They each strive to influence his behavior by placing opposing thoughts in his heart. Unlike the conflict for the soul in *Solomon and Saturn*, however, in this struggle it is the angel who in the end wins out, and the devil is banished forever from Guthlac, whose appetite for sin is quashed once and for all.

> Tid wæs toweard; hine twegen ymb
> weardas wacedon ða gewin drugon--
> engel dryhtnes 7 se átela gæst;
> nalæs hy him gelice lare bæron

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in his modes gemynd mongum tidum;
over him ðas eorðan ealle sægde
læne under lyfte 7 ða longan gód
herede on heofonum ðær haligra
sawla gesittaþ in sigorwuldre
dryhtnes dreamas-- he him dæda lean
georne gieldeþ ðam ðe his giefe willaþ
ðicgan to ðonce 7 him ðas woruld
uttor lætan ðonne ðæt ece líf;
oðer hyne scyhte ðæt he sceaþena gemot
nihtes sohte 7 ðurh neðinge
wunne æfter worulde swa doþ wræcmæcgas
ða ðe ne bimurnaþ monnes feore
ðæs ðe him to honda hu ðe gelædeþ
butan hy ðy reafe rædan motan.
Swa hy hine trymedon on twa healfa
oððæt ðæs gewinnes weoroda dryhten
on ðæs engles dóm ende gereahte.
Feond wæs geflymed; . . .[12]

The point of the foregoing is to demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxons believed in spiritual combat at an individual level and conceptualized that struggle in terms of actual combat between angel and devil. In view of the great emphasis on the collective fate of mankind on Doomsday that one may discern in Anglo-Saxon literature, it seemed important to stress here the intrinsic individualism in the struggle between angel and devil for the possession of each soul. I do not wish to trivialize the importance of the Final Judgment as a significant penitential motif and a major concern of Anglo-Saxon homilists and poets; rather I wish to foreground the evident,

12 *Guthlac A*, 114-136a, ed. Jane Roberts, pp. 86-87.

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and less often studied, interest in the particular judgment, and the reflection of that interest in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons.

Focusing on the fate of the individual soul at death in this way raises some important questions about where that soul will reside until Judgment, and what happens to it, and to what end. These questions have in turn some interesting consequences for textual (and visual) representations of that fate in the literature (art) of the period. The recognition and examination of the Anglo-Saxons' conceptualization of an individual struggle, one that starts in this life and extends into the next, is important for our assessment of the development of concepts such as purgatory and the efficacy of intercessory prayer. These concepts will feature prominently in our discussion of the Stowe drawings and their manuscript and cultural contexts.

II.

Encounters between angels and devils in the spiritual and temporal space of the Other World as depicted in Old English poetry, are few and far between. The following two instances that I have isolated are, moreover, extremely allusive.

Battle of Maldon (ll. 172-80).

While combat between angels and demons is not described in these lines, it seems at least implicitly alluded to in Byrhtnoth's last words. Mortally wounded, he turns his gaze heavenward and says:

> "Ic geðance ðe, þeoda Waldend,

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ealra ðæra wynna ðe ic on worulde gebad.
Nu ic ah, milde Metod, mæste ðearfe
ðæt ðu minum gaste godes geunne,
ðæt min sawul to ðe siþian mote,
on ðin geweald, þeoden engla,
mid friðe ferian. Ic eom frymdi to ðe
ðæt hi helsceaþan hynan ne moton."[13]

(173-80)

The situation is obviously that of the soul about to depart the body, which evokes similar situations recounted in the *visio* literature that we shall examine below. The uncertainty evident in Byrthnoth's words pertains obviously to whether he will be greeted in the next world by angels or demons, and ultimately, which of the two will prevail in the struggle for possession of his soul. It is conceivable that the poet had no such struggle in mind, i.e. that the reference to the "helsceaþan" is an allusion instead to their presence in hell and no more. Taken thus Byrhtnoth expresses merely the wish to end up in heaven, not hell, and the allusion to the inhabitants of that region stands in parallel relationship to the reference to God which precedes it. And yet he also exhorts God to let him make his way to Him in peace ("mid friðe ferian"), a phrase which calls to mind the journey of virtuous souls recounted in the *Visio Pauli* and other texts,[14] in which, guided by angels, such souls are nevertheless accosted by demons on their way. It seems not unreasonable to speculate that Byrhtnoth is here

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[13] D.G. Scragg, ed. *The Battle of Maldon*. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1981.

[14] As well as homiletic texts that include accounts of the transit of the soul. See Rudolph Willard, *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*. Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 30. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1935, on the Seven Heavens and Three Utterances of the Soul apocryphons.

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anticipating just such a struggle; a possibility which seems all the more likely given the widespread popularity of accounts containing descriptions of spiritual combat at each individual's death.

Resignation A

Forlæt mec englas seðeah
geniman on þinne neawest, nergende cyning,
meotud, for þinre miltse. ðeah þe ic mana fela
æfter dogrum dyde, ne læt ðu mec næfre deofol seðeah
ðin lim lædan on laþne siþ,
ðy læs hi on ðone foreðonc gefeon motan
ðy ðe hy him sylfum sellan ðuhten
englas oferhydige ðonne ece Crist.[15]

(49-56)

Like the *Battle of Maldon*, this passage constitutes an allusion to the implied confrontation of angels and devils at a person's death. While it mentions only the two possible outcomes of that conflict, the context created by the poet is reminiscent of what one encounters in descriptions of the soul's fate at death. The speaker implores God to allow the angels to bring him to Him, and this despite his many sins ("mana fela"). He fears being led on a "fearsome journey" ("on laþne siþ"), the journey to hell described in so many visions, homilies and saints' Lives. Unlike those other texts which are, after all, narrative descriptions of these post-death events, *Resignation A* is a prayer, and one need hardly be surprised that there is no explicit mention here of the contest between angels and devils as it is described in the *visiones* and homilies.[16] Nevertheless, it would be

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[15] ASPR III, p.216.
[16] Cf. the prayer to the guardian angel above, p. 201.

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surprising if one were not to have imagined that such a struggle might take place over the fate of a soul such as this one, stained as it is by "mana fela." For the soul of every man is in danger, and only the truly virtuous and blessed merit immediate access to heaven upon their death.

It would seem that the confrontation between angel and devil, as one feature of what the Anglo-Saxons imagined would transpire at the separation of the soul from the body, did not recommend itself to their poets. The fate of the soul at the Final Judgment was of course a very popular theme in Old English literature, and besides the many homilies in which it features, it finds powerful expression in *Christ III*, *Judgment Day I*, and *Judgment Day II*. Yet another popular genre dramatized the consequences of the body's actions on earth for both the soul and its reunited body at Judgment: the debate between the soul and the body.[17] But both representatives of this genre in Old English poetry, *Soul and Body I & II*, pass over the actual post-mortem judgment of the souls involved, making no mention of the contest between angels and devils for its fate. Instead, that fate has long been decided in these poems, as it would appear to have taken place off stage. Such poems are chiefly concerned with the de facto situation of a soul either doomed to suffer eternal damnation or destined to enjoy everlasting bliss once the Last Judgment has taken place.

One reason for this omission may lie in the fact that the poetic tradition of soul and body "debates" seems to have been preceded and inspired by its prose treatment in homiletic contexts.[18] The homilies that

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[17] For texts and recent bibliography on the two Old English representatives of this genre, see Douglas Moffat. *The Old English 'Soul and Body'*. Wolfboro, NH: 1990.

[18] For a succinct overview of the scholarship supporting this conclusion, see Moffat, Douglas, ed. *The Soul's Address to the Body: The Worcester Fragments*. Medieval Texts and Studies. East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1987, p. 40.

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make use of the theme do not include any form of spiritual contest at the inquest of the departed soul, hence one should not be surprised that it does not appear in the derivative poetry.[19]

This is not to say that the imagined combat between angel and devil was unknown among the Anglo-Saxons, for we do find narrative vignettes of this important confrontation in the prose of this period, in both Old English and Latin. Though I anticipate my argument here, I would suggest that the failure of the Anglo-Saxon poets to develop this theme may be attributable to the larger context in which the theme occurred. If we

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19 Milton McC. Gatch ("Two Uses of Apocrypha in Old English Homilies." *Church History* 33 (1964): 379-91) proposes an explanation for an alteration that AS homilists seem to have made in the "soul and body" debate material they adapted. The shift Gatch describes certainly accounts for the absence of any struggle between angel and devil, though I am not convinced by the argument he adduces to explain it. The shift I refer to here is a temporal one, which moves the confrontation between soul and body from the day of death to a periodic visitation (weekly on Sunday for 300 years or Doomsday, whichever comes first; annually at Easter), beginning at some indeterminate moment after death. Gatch speculates that homilists made this change because they wished to avoid "stating a clear doctrine of pugatory, while in the periodic return the mechanism of the soul being led off by whichever group of angels has won him is avoided . . .there is no crass preoccupation with the purgatorial or the paradisaic *per se*. The Latin homilists and the Anglo-Saxon translators have, in other words, found a way to use this striking and eminently homiletic theme while at the same time avoiding patent heterodoxy." (p. 386). This prompts the question of why homilists and other writers in this period should have wished to "avoid stating a clear doctrine of purgatory." The objection that purgatory had not yet been recognized as a distinct place by official Church doctrine (as it would not be until the scholastics got hold of the idea in the 12th century, see Le Goff), hardly rendered the idea of some kind of purgatorial experience for qualifying souls "patently heterodox." In fact, as we shall see below, not every "claiming of the soul" at death involved any hints at a purgatorial state: there are enough accounts in which the souls in question are carried off straightaway to "Abraham's bosom" (or heaven) or hell, where they will await the Last Judgment. Moreover, these same homilists proffered notions that were far more "patently heterodox" than the idea of purgatory. It is significant that Ælfric never objects to the use, in homilies or elsewhere, of exempla that are "crassly" preoccupied with the purgatorial and the pardisaic; in fact, he uses these same exempla in his own writings! Far from detecting any conscious desire on the part of Anglo-Saxon writers to avoid mention of purgatorial situations, I see rather a tendency to embrace the concept in the many exempla in which it features, especially in the *visio* literature. As Gurevich has shown, the notion was to some extent originally a "popular" one, and it was eventually accepted as Church doctrine. But this did not happen overnight. If there had been men who objected to it in Anglo-Saxon England, men who indeed wished to avoid alluding to it, as Gatch claims, then surely we may have expected Ælfric to have done so. I suspect Gatch's objection is one projected on the Anglo-Saxon past from the vantage point of modern hindsight.

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compare the contexts of the Soul and Body debate with the spiritual *agon* immediately following the death of an individual, it becomes clear that the former takes place under the shadow of the 'larger' Apocalypse, the final collective judgment of all souls that will transpire once they have been reunited with their bodies. There is no room in these accounts for the notion of purgation. The souls in question are damned or blessed, and they reside, it would seem, either in heaven or hell until the Final Judgment. What is more, their admonitions to their respective bodies are cast in a rigidly dualistic form: the damned soul berates his body for sealing his fate, while the blessed soul praises its former "home" and offers words of encouragement designed to help its decomposing comrade bridge the temporal gap remaining before they are reunited at the Final Judgment. The poets (and the homilists before them) seem either not to have been aware of the third possibility, or unwilling (for whatever reason) to complicate matters by including it.

On the other hand, the context of those narratives that do include details concerning the soul's death-day experience (and the combat between angel and devil) almost always deal, however obliquely, with the possibility that a soul may not be wholly wicked or wholly virtuous, and that between the time of death (whether this be permanent, or, in the case of visionaries, temporary) and the Second Coming something can be done to affect the final fate of a qualified soul. I would follow Aaron Gurevich in referring to this individual judgment as the 'lesser' Apocalypse.[20] Suffice it for the moment to say that the larger context (i.e. Doomsday) of the Soul and

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20 Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture* 14. Trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 123.

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Body exempla enjoyed firm scriptural authority (Matt. and Rev.)[21] and widespread popularity as the parenetic topos par excellence, whereas the idea of an inquest and judgment at death, to say nothing of the idea of purgatory as a fixed place and option for a distinct category of souls (the "non ualde boni"), was far less firmly rooted in scriptural tradition and on the whole relatively slow in developing. As I hope to show below, it would seem that the confrontation between angels and devils on this spiritual plane is linked in some way with existent notions of individualism, especially the possibility of a purgatorial state after death, and the efficacy of intercessory prayer by the living on behalf of the dead.

It is also true, I believe, that the motif of combat between the guardian angel and attendant demon is linked to the similar struggle between these spiritual forces when the soul leaves this world and enters the next.[22] The correspondences are rather obvious, but no less worth pointing out because of this. In both situations the individuality of the struggle is emphasized, and while there are few narratives in Old English that present us with a picture of both conflicts and a more or less full picture of the fate of the soul from death to Final Judgment–aside from Pseudo-Wulfstan 47–it seems reasonable to conclude that many Anglo-Saxons believed and were taught to believe in the "career" of the individual soul as it is portrayed in this homily. This notion gains credence when we

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21 Matt. 24: 3ff.; 25:31-46; 26:29; 13:39ff.; 49-50; 19:28.

22 This link is explicit in a number of places, for instance in the long Latin redactions of the *Viso Sancti Pauli*: "They [the angels of death, who receive the souls of the righteous] received therefore the soul out of the body, and straightway kissed it as one daily known of them, saying unto it: 'Be of good courage, for thou hast done the will of God while thou abodest on earth.' And there came to meet it *the angel that watched it day by day*, and he said unto it: Be of good courage, O soul: for I rejoice in thee because thou hast done the will of God on earth; for I told unto God all thy works, how they stood." M. R. James' translation, quoted after Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, p. 67; emphasis mine.

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consider one of the most popular apocryphal texts of the Middle Ages, the *Visio Sancti Pauli.* I shall have more to say about this below, but I hasten to point out that it, too, is a narrative that includes the "earthly" struggle of guardian angels and attendant demons as well as the clash between these same beings at the death of their charges.

The longer redactions of the *Visio* include the heavenly assembly of both "hyrdas" gathered in turn before God to report the deeds of men. It also contains the classic scene of the good and bad souls leaving the body, with their fates being determined by the angels and devils who come to claim them. We have seen this already in the Ps.-Wulfstan homily, where it is ultimately derived from the *Visio Pauli*, and we shall see it again in other *visiones.*

Moreover, Rudolph Willard identifies an important variation in the long and short Latin redactions of the *Visio Pauli*, and the Old English version found in our Pseudo-Wulfstan homily. In the long version the dying man's deeds appear before him; in the short version the soul reads them from a list; but in the Old English versions (in the homilies discussed below) we find it is the angels and devils who read these deeds to the soul in question. An even more striking difference, and one particularly apt in the context of this discussion, is found in Pseudo-Wulfstan 47, for there the devils rout the angels in combat using the sinner's very deeds as a kind of weapon:

> and þa fuhton swiðe þearle þa englas and þa deoflu ymbe þa earman sawle; and þa deoflu hy genaman æt þam englum and oferstældon hy mid hire yfelan weorcum.[23]

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[23] Napier, p. 235. The account of the good soul appears on p. 236. Willard discusses this situation in *Two Apocrypha*, p. 65.

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Similarly, the angels wield the deeds of the good soul in their rout of the devils ("hy genamon æt þam deoflum and oferstældon hy mid hire godum dædum").

Further motifs of combat in this spiritual realm in Old English homiletic literature are limited to a small group of texts, and still further to a motif clearly indebted to some degree to the *Visio Pauli*, namely the 'Three Utterances of the Soul.' In his study of the apocryphon, Rudolph Willard outlines this motif as it is found in a number of Latin, Old Irish and Old English texts. Typically, the motif includes a description of "the bringing forth of the sinful soul, and that of the righteous, together with their first reactions to the world after death." Willard continues:

> To receive the soul of every man there gather two bands of angels, one beautiful and glorious, the other hideous and black, who fight for the possession of the soul. The devils, if victorious, rejoice and shout aloud, 'This man is ours', and they exhort one another, 'Take the soul with violence from its body'. As the soul leaves its body and beholds the new world, it cries out, 'How great is the darkness!', to which the devils reply, 'Greater still awaits thee'. Again the soul cries out, 'How terrible is the journey!', and the devils reply, 'More terrible still awaits thee'. The soul exclaims a third time, 'How great is the misery!', and a third time the devils answer, 'Still greater misery awaits thee'. The devils then divide into two groups, the one preceding, and the other following, the soul, and they lead the soul away, chanting in its derision, 'Why boastest thou thyself in mischief?'
>
> When a just man lies at the point of death the two hosts draw near as before, and engage in combat for the soul. The devils are defeated, but the angels rejoice as they claim the dying man as theirs, and they exhort one another to take the soul gently from its body. As the righteous soul looks upon the world about him, it, too, gives

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> voice to three utterances, 'How great is the light!', 'How great is the Joy!', and 'How pleasant is the journey!', to which the angels reply encouragingly each time, 'Greater still awaits thee'. The angels form two bands and escort the soul, singing to its comfort, 'Blessed is the man whom Thou choosest and causest to approach unto Thee, that he may dwell in Thy courts.'[24]

Central to this scene of individual judgment, then, is the confrontation between angels and devils. The Old English homilies which incorporate this theme are *De Letania Maiore* (MS Hatton 114, homily xvi; Scragg O); *Be Heofonwarum and be Helwarum* (in Cotton Faustina A IX, homily iv, and Corpus Christi College Cambridge 302, homily x; Scragg J and K); and finally a homily in Junius 85/86 (Scragg C), which in fact differs from the others in not including the combat between angels and devils.[25] *De Letania Maiore* illustrates the topos well, from which I excerpt mention of the struggle:

> Utan nu gehyran, mine þa leofestan gebroðra, hu þæs soðfæstan mannes sawl on þam lichoman his þæs halgan hordfætes utgangende bið. Heo bið swa beorht swa sunne; and hi ða Godes englas and ða awyrgedan gastas swyðe ymbe flitað. Gyf þonne þa englas geseoð þæt seo sawl bið heora geferscypes wyrðe, hi þonne onginnað secgan and rædan swyðe freondlice eall þa god þe heo æfre fram frymðe hyre lifes oð hire daga ende gefremede; and heo hit eall on heora bocum awriten habbað. And Sanctus Michahel þonne þa sawle gelædeð to þam heahsetle ures Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes, þær heo

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[24] For an identification of the Latin source for the Old English version of this apocryphon, see Mary F. Wack and Charles D. Wright, "A New Latin Source for the Old English 'Three Utterances' exemplum." *ASE* 20 (1991): 187-202.

[25] The manuscript sigla are Donald G. Scragg's, set out in his "The corpus of vernacular homilies and prose saints' lives before Ælfric." *ASE* 8 (1979): 223-277. O is edited by Willard, and Bazire and Cross (pp.115-24); J and K still only partially edited by Willard. C appears in part in Willard, and entire in A.M. Luiselli Fadda's *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della renascenza benedettina*, Filologia germanica, Testi e studi 1 (Florence, 1977), 8-21.

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> gesihð eall þa god þe heo æfre ær gefremede. Ðonne sona þa awyrgedan gastas swyðe unhyðige to helle in ece wite forðgewitað.[26]

Two features besides the combat motif should be noted for future reference: St Michael's presence, and the fact that the soul's deeds are recorded and subsequently used in its defence.

A review of the texts that contain the theme of combat between angel and devil suggests that it originally belonged in narrative contexts involving the fate of the individual soul. The obvious narratological clumsiness, even disruption, resulting from attempts by the anonymous Anglo-Saxon homilists to insert the "Three Utterances" motif into accounts of the Final Judgment reinforces this notion considerably. In the Old English texts that employ it, this motif is an insertion or appendage to a homily whose main theme is the collective judgment. Thus it was appended to the penitential homily *De Letania maiore*, and it has been inserted, inappropriately, into a Last Judgment context in *Be Heofonwarum and be Helwarum*. The setting of the motif in the Junius 85/86 homily, on the other hand, has not been tampered with: it is clearly situated at the time of the soul's departure from the body. An Irish version of this motif likewise has as its context individual death, not Final Judgment.[27] Thus we may conclude, however provisionally, that the prime locus in the spiritual realm

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26 "Let us now hear, my dearest brethren, how the soul of the righteous man shall depart from his body, the holy recepticle of the blessed one. He will be as bright as the sun, and on his behalf the angels of the Lord and the foul spirits will contend bitterly. If the angels then see that the soul is worthy to join their fellowship, they then proceed to recite and read in a most kindly manner all the good things that the soul had done since the very beginning of his life until the end of his days; and they have it all written down in their books. And Saint Michael then leads the soul to the high-throne of our Lord Saviour Christ, where he sees all the good that the soul has ever done. At that the foul spirits return, very disappointed, to the eternal torment of hell." Text from Willard, *Two Apocrypha*; translation mine.

27 Willard prints Marstrander's translation of the Old Irish text in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*.

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of combat between angel and devil was conceived as taking place at the time of the individual's death. In other words, it was a struggle that decided the outcome of each soul's "lesser Apocalypse," and was originally kept quite distinct from the greater, final drama of the collective Judgment of mankind on the Last Day.

III.

We may flesh out our corpus of spiritual combat motifs by turning our attention to a genre that enjoyed immense popularity during the entire Middle Ages (and beyond), namely that of the *visio*. Like the accounts of the soul leaving the body, these narratives all have in common that at least part of the action takes place in the spiritual realm of the Other World. In some the protagonist/visionary has fallen ill and his condition is either deathlike, or he does indeed die, only to be ordered or granted the chance to return to his body, at the end of the narrative, when his experience among the permanently dead has drawn to a close.

Sometimes we catch a glimpse of conditions in the afterlife, which may or may not resemble the intermediate places that were to evolve into the official doctrine of purgatory. Other times we learn no more than that a certain soul has been led off to hell, or taken up to heaven. The visions are put to various didactic and rhetorical uses, too. While a number of them add political commentary to their penitential import, the ones that interest us most here are intended as exhortations to penance and exempla for those who would learn from the experiences of others.[28]

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[28] The corpus of medieval *visiones* in Latin alone is vast. Excellent coverage of the topic is provided by the studies of Peter Dinzelbacher: *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter.*

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It would be no more appropriate than possible to discuss here all the *visiones* that have some bearing on our purpose, so I shall limit discussion to the most relevant ones, with an eye as well towards choosing those that would have been most accessible to the largest possible audience among the Anglo-Saxons.[29] We should begin with a text, already mentioned, that is foremost of all in its popularity and availability throughout the Anglo-Saxon period: the Apocryphal *Viso sancti Pauli*.[30] As we have already seen, the long redaction contains both a reference to the daily struggle of the guardian spirits and the death-scene combat for the fate of the individual soul. It was influential in other important ways, but for now it is enough to note that complete redactions and partial witnesses to this text in both Latin and Old English have survived from Anglo-Saxon England; all evidence indicates that it was as popular and influential there as it was in the rest of medieval Europe. For completeness' sake I cite the relevant passage from the Old English translation of the *Visio Pauli*:

Vol. 23. Monographien zur Gescichte des Mittelalters, ed. Karl Bosl. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981; *Mittelalterliche Visionsliteratur. Eine Anthologie.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989. "Klassen und Hierarchien im Jenseits." *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 12/1 (1979): 20-4, also by Dinzelbacher, is of interest. See also C. Fritzsche, "Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts." *Romanische Forschungen* 3 (1886-87): 337-69, for an annotated survey of the Latin *visones*. Maria Pia Ciccarese combines editions, translations and commentray on the major vision narratives in the Latin west in *Visioni dell'aldilà in occidente: fonti, modelli, testi.* Vol. 8. Florence: Biblioteca Patristica, 1987. For an interesting and informative treatment of the Irish vision narratives (with some comment on the Old English ones), see St. John D.Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Other-World.* London: MacMillan, 1930. Carol Zaleski juxtaposes studies of medieval visions of the Other World with modern accounts of "temporary" death in *Otherworld Journeys. Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times.* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

[29] Common sense dictates that the vernacular narratives would have been most likely to have reached the widest audience, especially as some of them (or their analogues, such as the *Visio Pauli* excerpts in Pseudo-Wulfstan 47, above p. 212) were incorporated into homilies or disseminated in patently popular texts, such as the Old English Bede and the Old English translations of Gregory's *Dialogues.*

[30] On the *Visio Pauli* as a text known to the Anglo-Saxons, see A. diPaolo Healey's entry *Visio Sancti Pauli* in Biggs, et al, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, pp. 66-67.

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Paulus ða ahsode ðane ængel and cwæð: Wealdend, hwæt sind ðas? Se ængel him andswerede and cwæð to Paule: ðis syndon ða gastas ða ðe beoð gesænde to arleasra manna sawlum on tide hyra forðfore. Paulus ða eft locode on heannesse, and he ðær geseah oðre ænglas, ðara ansyne scinan swa swa sunne; hyra lædene wæran mid gyldenum gyrdelsum begyrded, and palmtwigu on hyran handum hi hæfdon, and mycele manðwearnyssa hige wæron gefylled. And Paulus ða ahsode ðane ængel ðe hine lædde, hwæt ða wæron on swa mycelere fægernesse. Se ængel him andswerede and cwæð: ðis syndon soðfæstnyssa ænglas, ða beoð gesænde to soðfæstre sawlum, ðonne hige of lichoman ut gangeð, ða hyra hiht on Drihten gesetton, and him to him gewendon. And Paulus ða cwæð to ðæm ængle ðe hine lædde: Wealdend, ic wolde geseon soðfæstra and synfulra sawla of lichaman ut gangende. Se ængel him to cwæð: loca of heofonum on eoðan. And Paulus ða locode, and he geseah alne middangeard ðon gelicost ðe hit niht wære. And Paulus his wæs ða swiðe wundriende, and he cwæð to ðæm ængle: Wealdend, is ðis eall manna mycelnessa? Se ængel him andswerede and cwæð: ðis syndon ða ðe singiað fram ærne merigen oð æfen. And Paulus eft locode, and he geseah ealne middangeard on ðyostrum gesetted, and sume soðfæste sawle of lichaman ut gangende, and hire ða ongæn coman ða godan gastas, and he geseah hi wepende, and hige cwædon: eala ðu sawul, hu ðu us nu beflihst, forðan ðe ðu gewrohtest Godes willan on eorðan. And se ængel, ðe ðare sawle hyrde on worulde wæs, cegde to ðæm dyoflum, and cwæð: cyrrað onbæcling scamigende, forðan ðe ge ne mihton ða sawle beswican, ða ða hyo on lichaman wæs. And ða æfter ðan ða, gebyrede hit þæt Paulus gehyrde stefna on heofona heanyssum cweðende: gebringað ða sawle to us, forðon ðe heo gewrohte Godes willan on eorðan...[31]

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[31]Antoinette diPaulo Healey,*Old English Visio Pauli*, ll.56-96: "Paul then asked the angel and said: Lord, 'What are they?' The angel answered him, and said to Paul, 'These are the spirits who are sent to wicked men's souls at the time of their death.' Paul then again looked into the heavens, and he saw other angels there, whose countenance shone like the sun; their loins were girded with belts of gold, and they had palmtwigs in their hands, and they were filled with great gentleness. The angel answered him and said, 'These are the righteous angels, who are sent to righteous souls when the depart from their bodies, who

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Among the many narratives describing visions of the Other World that were popular in the middle ages, there is one in particular in Book Four of Pope Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* that deserves special attention here. C. Fritzsche has speculated that the ultimate inspiration for visionary descriptions of the combat between angels and demons for possession of a soul may be traced to the fight between St. Michael and the Dragon in *Revelations* (12: 7-9).[32] It seems more likely that the *Visio Pauli* will have exerted a greater influence on the development of this motif in vision narratives, by virtue of the explicitly literal representations of this kind of conflict which it contains. Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogues* contains an account of a visionary experience that may have contributed to the development of otherworld combat motifs in a similar way, for one of the most influential anecdotes in the collection–the story of the deceased soldier–contains an early instance of the struggle between good and evil spirits:

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had put their trust in God, and had followed His ways.' And Paul then said to the angel who led him, 'Master, I would like to see the souls of the righteous and the wicked as they depart their body.' The angel said to him, 'Look down from heaven towards earth.' And Paul then looked, and he saw the whole of middle earth as if cast in the darkness of night. And Paul wondered greatly at this, and he said to the angel, 'Master, is this all the greatness of man?' The angel answered him, saying, 'These are those who sing from early morning until evening.' And Paul looked again, and he saw all of middle earth cast in darkness, and the soul of some righteous man leaving its body, and then the good spirits approached him, and he beheld them, weeping, and they said, 'hearken, oh soul, how you now fly towards us, because you did God's will on earth.' And the angel who had been the soul's guardian on earth called out to the devils, and said, 'Turn back, shameful ones, for you were not able to deceive this soul when it was in his body.' And then after that, it happened that Paul heard a voice from the loftiness of heaven saying, 'Bring now that soul to us, for he has done God's will on earth.'"

32 "Es wird ferner (cap. 12 v. 7-9) ein Kampf des Erzengels Michael mit dem alten Drachen, dem Teufel, beschrieben. Dieser Kampf ist vielleicht für Visionäre das Vorbild für die Kämpfe der Engel mit dem bösen Geistern um die Seele, welche sich in mehreren Visionen finden." C. Fritzsche, 1885-86, p. 253.

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10. Haec vero erat in praedicto ponte probatio, ut quisquis per eum iniustorum vellet transire, in tenebroso foetentique fluvio laberetur, iusti vero, quibus culpa non obsisteret, securo per eum gressu ac libero ad loca amena pervenirent.
11. Ibi se etiam Petrum, ecclesiasticae familiae maiorem, qui ante quadriennium defunctus est, deorsum positum in locis teterrimis, magno ferri pondere religatum ac depressum vidisse confessus est. Qui dum requireret cur ita esset, ea se dixit audisse quae nos, qui eum in hac ecclesiastica domo novimus, scientes eius acta recolimus. Dictum namque est: "Haec idcirco patitur quia si quid ei pro facienda ultione iubebatur, ad inferendas plagas plus ex crudelitatis desiderio quam oboedientia serviebat." Quod sic fuisse nullus qui illum novit ignorat.
12. Ibi se etiam quemdam peregrinum presbiterum videsse fatebatur, qui ad praedictum pontem veniens, tanta per eum auctoritate transiit, quanta et hic sinceritate vixit. In eodem quoque ponte hunc quem praedixi Stephanum se recognovisse testatus est. Qui dum transire voluisset, eius pes lapsus est, et ex medio corpore iam extra pontem deiectus, a quibusdam teterrimis viris ex flumine surgentibus per coxas deorsum, atque a quibusdam albatis et speciosissimis viris coepit per brachia sursum trahi. Cumque hoc luctamen esset, ut hunc boni spiritus sursum, mali deorsum traherent, ipse qui haec videbat ad corpus reversus est, et quid de eo plenius gestum sit minime cognovit.[33]

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[33]Gregorii Magni *Dialogorum libri*, ed. A. de Vogüé, 3 vols., SChr 244, 253 and 257 (Paris, 1978-80); 265, 130-32. "10. Now those that desired to pass over the foresaid bridge, were subject to this manner of trial: if any that was wicked attempted to go over, down he fell into the dark and stinking river; but those that were just and not hindered by sin, securely and easily passed over to those pleasant and delicate places. 11. There he said also that he saw Peter, who was steward of the Pope's family, and died some four years since, thrust into a most filthy place, where he was bound and kept down with a great weight of iron: and inquiring why he was so used, he received that answer, which all we that knew his life can affirm to be most true: for it was told him that he suffered that pain, because when he himself was upon any occasion to punish other, that he did it more upon cruelty than to show his obedience; of which his merciless disposition none that knew him can be ignorant. There also he said that he saw a Priest whom he knew: who coming to the foresaid bridge, passed over with as great security, as he lived in this world sincerely. 12. Likewise, upon the same bridge he said that he did this Stephen, whom before we spake of, who being about to go over, his foot slipped, and half his body hanging beside the bridge, he was of certain terrible men, that rose out of the river, drawn by the legs

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The context and form of the spiritual combat illustrated here are different from any we have seen so far. Rather than being drawn from the body at death, or flying skyward to meet its former guardian, the soul of the unknown priest is seen to have made its way to the bridge, and it is there that he falters and the good and evil spirits vie for its possession. Gregory's incorporation of the "Bridge of Purgatory" topos, is, by the way, the first recorded such use, and it is ultimately to him that its later dissemination and incorporation in religious exempla and romance is to be attributed. Despite these differences, however, Gregory's portrayal of an individual postmortem struggle between the "spiritus boni et mali" is a significant one for the tradition we are tracing.

I should like to emphasize at this point that the appearance of this anecdote in Gregory's work renders it even more important for our discussion in the light of Gregory's apparent didactic agenda. The deathbed visions and eyewitness accounts of the Other World included in his *Dialogues* were evidently intended to stress "the reality of postmortem punishment and the efficacy of masses and pious works on behalf of the dead."[34] These are precisely the issues that we shall be dealing with when we reach the goal toward which this discussion is proceeding, namely the definition and interpretation of the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon line drawings in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster Abbey. Zaleski describes succinctly the essence of Gregory's opinion on these issues in a way that

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downward: and by certain other white and beautiful persons, he was by the arms pulled upward: and whiles they strove thus, the wicked spirits to draw him downward, and the good to lift him upward, he that beheld all this strange sight returned to life, not knowing in conclusion what became of him." Translation from Gardner, Edmund G., ed. *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory*. London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911, pp. 225-26

[34] Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys*, p. 28.

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deserves quoting in full. It has great relevance for our study of context and composition of the Stowe drawing.

> The anecdotes in book 4 of Gregory's *Dialogues* mark a turning point in the history of Western otherworld journey narration. Even more than the Vision of St. Paul, Gregory's vision stories focus on the interim period between death and resurrection. This does not mean that apocalyptic eschatology had relaxed its grip on the imagination of sixth-century Christians; Gregory speaks with urgency about the approach of Doomsday and suggests that otherworld visions are on the rise because the world to come is drawing near and mixing its light with the darkness of the present age. In the *Dialogues*, however, Gregory is concerned with the eschatological crisis that begins with the hour of death; he seems to find more edification in contemplating the purgatorial or punitive torments that await the average sinner than in making apocalyptic predictions about the experiences that will befall the human race in its last days.[35]

From Gregory we move on to Bede, who includes otherworld experiences in his *Historia Ecclesiastica.* The story of Dryhthelm is well known for the light it sheds on a belief in a purgatorial condition at a time well before it became official Church doctrine. This is another of those *visones* whereby the visionary takes ill and dies, is led through places of punishment and bliss (which he mistakes for hell and heaven), and is then taken back to his body in order that he may live out the rest of the days of his life and make amends for his sins in this world. His subsequent deeds, and his story, become an example for others to do as he does. This particular narrative is relevant only insofar as at one juncture in the tale

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[35] Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys*, pp. 30-31.

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there is what might be termed a scuffle between the angel who is his guide and the demons of the purgatorial pits to which Dryhthelm has been led. Standing alone, surrounded by the menacing fire-breathing demons who may threaten yet not touch him, Dryhthelm waits in terror until his guide returns to help him. At the latter's approach, the demons scatter.[36]

In the same book, and the very next chapter, Bede relates the story of a man who receives a death-bed glimpse of his fate in the next world. It's the story of a thane of Cenred, King of Mercia, who refuses to abandon and confess his sins despite the king's admonitions. He falls seriously ill, the king repeats his urgings to repent, but the thane refuses, claiming that it would be a sign of weakness to do while sick what he had refused to do while healthy. As his illness grows worse, the king comes to him again in an attempt to reason with him. This is when the thane relates his vision.

> Ac docendum rex intraret, clamabat statim miserabili uoce: 'Quid uis modo? Quid huc uenisti? Non enim mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre.' At ille 'Noli' inquit 'ita loqui: uide ut sanum sapias.' 'Non,' inquit, 'insanio, sed pessimam mihi scientiam certus prae oculis habeo.' 'Et quid' inquit 'hoc est?' 'Paulo ante' inquit 'intrauerunt domum hanc duo pulcherrimi iuuenes et resederunt circa me, unus ad caput et unus ad pedes; protulitque unus libellum perpulchrum, sed uehementer modicum, ac mihi ad legendum dedit; in quo omnia, quae umquam bona feceram, intuens scripta repperi, et haec erant nimium pauca et modica. Receperunt codicem, neque aliquid mihi dicebant. Tum subito superuenit exercitus malignorum et horridorum uultu spirituum, domumque hanc et exterius obsedit et intus maxima ex parte residens impleuit. Tunc ille, qui et obscuritate tenebrosae faciei et primatu sedis maior esse uidebatur eorum, proferens codicem horrendae uisionis et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pene inportabilis, iusset uni ex

[36] Bede, EH, V.12, pp. 488-99.

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> satellitibus suis mihi ad legendum deferre. Quem cum legissem, inuenio omnia scelera, non solum quae opere uel uerbo, sed etiam quae tenuissima cogitatione peccaui, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris. Dicebatque ad illos, qui mihi adsederant, uiros albatos et praeclaros: 'Quid hic sedetis scientes certissime quia noster est iste?' Responderunt: 'Verum dicitis; accipite, et in cummulum damnationis uestrae ducite.'[37]

We see here the recurrent theme of a man's deeds being used in his indictment or defence at the threshold between this world and the next. This struggle described in this particular anecdote is not the fierce, seemingly corporeal one waged by the throngs of angels and devils in the *Visio Pauli*, but a more "literary" variation on that theme. Rather than slinging arrows or insults or even biblical citations at one another, Bede's account describes the demons' demeanor in presenting their claim to the sick man's soul as orderly yet determined, but no less horrifying, we are meant to understand, because the power that condemns him is bound up in the weighty record of his evil deeds.

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[37] Bede, EH, V.13, p. 501. "But he called out at once in wretched tones, "What do you want now? Why have you come? You can do nothing to help or save me now." The king answered, "Do not talk like that; behave like a sane man." "I am not mad," he said, "but I know the worst and I have seen it clearly." "And what is that?" the king asked. "A short time ago," he said, "two most handsome youths came into my home and sat down near me, one at my head and one at my feet. One of them drew out a very beautiful but exceedingly small book and gave it to me to read. On looking into it, I found all the good deeds I had ever done written down, but they were very few and trifling. They took the volume back but said nothing to me. Then suddenly there appeared an army of evil spirits with horrible faces; they surrounded the outside of the house, also filling almost the whole of the interior, and they too sat down. Then the one who seemed to be chief among them, judging by his dark and gloomy face and by the fact that he occupied the chief seat, took a volume of enormous size and almost unbearable weight, horrible to behold, and ordered one of his followers to bring it to me to read. On reading it I found all my sins written down very clearly but in hideous hand-writing: not only my sins of word and deed but even my slightest thoughts. He said to the glorious white-robed men who sat by me, "Why do you sit here since you know that this man is ours?" They said, "You speak the truth; take him away to help make up the number of the damned."

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In an earlier chapter of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede had synopsized the marvellous experiences in the Other World of St. Fursa, a pilgrim bishop from Ireland. Like Dryhthelm, Fursa took : and was taken from the body to witness conditions in the hereafter. Bede does not repeat the entire story, but he does go on to give select details from his source, the anonymous *Vita Fursi*, but before doing so he remarks:

> Qui reductus in corpore, et die tertia rursum eductus, uidit non solum maiora beatorum gaudia sed et maxima malignorum spirituum certamina, qui crebris accusationibus inprobi iter illi caeleste intercludere contendebant, nec tamen, protegentibus eum angelis, quicquam proficiebant. De quibus omnibus siqui plenius scire uult, id est, quanta fraudis sollertia daemones et actus eius et uerba superflua et ipsas etiam cogitationes quasi in libro descriptas replicauerint, quae ab angelis sanctis, quae a uiris iustis sibi inter angelos apparentibus laeta uel tristia cognouerit, legat ipsum de quo dixi libellum uitae eius, et multum ex illo, ut reor, profectus spiritalis accipiet.[38]

What is striking about this account, beyond the now familiar combat between angels and demons, is the persistent representation of the soul's deeds having been recorded in writing, here "quasi in libro."

While the act of recording a soul's good and bad deeds in writing seems an appropriate detail for the bookish monk Bede to emphasize, it was

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38 Bede, EH, III.19, p. 270. "He returned to his body and, two days afterwards, was taken out of it a second time and saw not only the very great joys of the blessed but also the fierce onslaughts of the evil spirits who, by their manifold accusations, wickedly sought to prevent his journey to heaven; but they failed utterly for he was protected by angels. If anyone wishes to know more of these matters, let him read the book I have mentioned and I think that he will gain great spiritual benefit from it. There he will learn with what subtlety and deceit the devils reported Fursa's deeds, his idle words, and his very thoughts, just as if they had written them down in a book; and the joyful and sad things that he learned both from the angels and from the righteous men who appeared to him in the company of the angels."

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not the only imagery available to those who described the struggle between angels and demons as they attempted to win disembodied souls for their respective causes. In fact, in his recension of the *Vita S. Fursei*, Bede omits the details of spiritual combat described there. One such is reminiscent of the spiritual struggle waged in this world between guardian angels and attendant demons discussed earlier. Having been lifted from his body by three angels sent to guide him on his journey through the Other World, Fursa is attacked by a troop of ferocious demons. These hostile spirits form battle ranks in front of him and let fly with flaming arrows, but Fursa is protected by the shields of the angels:

> Bellicantes uero daemonia igneas sagittas iactabant contra illos, sed angelico scuto omnia tela nequissima extinguebantur.[39]

Even more striking is the form the ensuing contest assumes, for in what immediately follows martial imagery gives way to a verbal trial in which the demons attempt to win the case by quoting relevant passages from Scripture. Having repelled the arrows of the demons' first attack, the leader of the angels commands the demons to disperse:

> "Nolite tardare iter nostrum, quia hic homo non est particeps perditionis uestrae." Contradicente aduersario ac blasphamante iniustum esse deo hominem peccatori consentientem nihil damnationis habere, cum scriptum sit: "Non solum qui faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus, digni sunt morte,"[40] pugnante uero angelo, existimabat uir sanctus clamorem pugnae et uociferantium daemoniorum in omnem terra, audiri.

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39 Dinzelbacher 1989, p. 44.
40 Rom. 1:32.

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> 7. Cumque uictus Satanas sicut contritus coluber caput releuasset uenenosum, dixit: "Otiosos sermones saepe protulit," nec debere eum inlaesum uita perfrui beata. Sanctus angelus dixit: "Nisi principalia protuleris crimina, propter minima non peribit." Accusator antiquus dixit: "Scriptum est: 'Si non remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater uester caelestis dimittet vobis peccata uestra.'"[41] Sanctus angelus respondit: "Ubi se uindicauit uel cui iniuriam fecit?" Diabolus dixit: "Non est scriptum: si non uindicetis, sed: 'si non remiseritis de cordibus uestris.'" Sanctus angelus excusans dixit: "Indulgentiam in corde habuit, sed consuetudine humana continuit." Diabolus respondit: " Sicut accepit malum ex consuetudine, ita accipiat uindictam a superno iudice." Dixit angelus domini: "Iudicemur ante dominum." Victus inimicus uiperea restaurat uenena dicens: "Si iustus est deus, hic homo non intrabit in regnum caelorum. Scriptum est enim: 'Nisi conuersi fueritis et efficiamini sicut paruuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.'[42] Hoc uerbum minime impleuit." Sanctus angelus dixit: "Iudicemur ante dominum." Praeliante sancto angelo contriti sunt aduersarii.[43]

In the *Vita S. Fursei* from which Bede extracted this anecdote, the debate continues at quite some length.[44]

The combat imagery in a vision reported by Boniface in one of his epistles is similarly "oral." In this text the unnamed visionary witnesses the gathering of a great number of departed souls and reports a heated dispute between the angels and demons:

> Innumerabilem quoque malignorum spirituum turbam nec non et clarissimum chorum supernorum angelorum adfuisse narravit. Et maximam inter se miserrimos spiritus et sanctos angelos de animabus

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41 Cf. Matt. 18:35.
42 Matt. 18:3.
43 Dinzelbacher 1989, pp. 45-46.
44 See Heist, W. W., ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*. Subsidia Hagiographica 28. Brussels: Société de Bollandists, 1965, pp. 40-43.

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> egredientibus de corpore disputationem habuisse, demones accussando et peccatorum pondus gravando, angelos vero relevando et excussando.[45]

Moreover, each soul's sins and virtues are personified and subsequently step forward to add their testimony to the accusations levied by the demons and defence offered the angels. Thus the more usual written record of sins and virtues is replaced here by the voices of every sin that the visionary had committed and left unconfessed since his youth.[46]

Boniface's visionary also witnesses the spiritual condition of men still living. According to this account, reports of each sin as it is committed are passed along "by word of mouth" to other evil spirits by an attendant demon who is constantly urging his charge on to sin:

> Illis vero, qui nefandis criminibus et maculate vitae sordibus polluti fuerunt, adversarium spiritum adsiduae sociatum et semper ad scelera suadentem fuisse; et, quandocumque verbo vel facto peccaverint, hoc iugiter quasi ad laetitiam et gaudium aliis nequissimis spiritibus in medium proferens manifestavit. Et quando homo peccavit, nequaquam, alignus spiritus sustinuit moram faciens expectando, donec iterum peccaret, sed singillatim unumquodque vitium ad notitiam aliorum spirituum offerebat. Et subito apud hominem peccata suasit et ilico apud daemones perpetrata demonstravit.[47]

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[45] Michael Tangl, ed. *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus.* Vol. 1. MGH Epistolae selectae, Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955, p. 9. "An innumerable band of evil spirits and a bright choir of heavenly angels had also assembled; and there was the greatest dispute between the demons and the angels over the souls leaving the body, for the demons were accusing the dead and making heavy the burden of their sins, while the angels were excusing them and lightening their load." Translation taken from Edward Kylie, *The English Correspondence of St. Boniface.* London: Chatto and Winders, 1924, p. 80.

[46] Tangl, pp. 9-11.

[47] Tangl, p. 13. "But those who were polluted with unspeakable vices and the stain of unclean lives, a hostile spirit constantly accompanied, always urging them on to sin; and,

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The dominant imagery in this text is that of oral report and transmission of a soul's sins and virtues, rather than their collection in a "Book of Life" for each individual soul, as we have seen in other texts. But the image of the book does make its appearance in this vision, and in a most curious way. Among the many scenes that the visionary is granted to witness, he sees the fate of Ceolred, King of the Mercians, at his death:

> Et similiter testatus est de Ceolredo rege Mercionum, quem illo tamen tempore, quo haec visa sunt, in corpore fuisse non dubium est. Quem, ut dixit, videbat angelico quodam umbraculo contra impetum daemoniorum *quasi libri alicuius magni* extensione et superpositione defensum. Ipsi autem daemones anhelando rogabant angelos, ut ablata defensione illa ipsi permitterentur crudelitatis eorum voluntatem in eo exercere, et inputabant ei horribilem ac nefandam multitudinem flagitiorum et minantes dicebant illum sub dirissimis inferorum claustris claudendum et ibi peccatis promerentibus aeternis tormentis cruciandum esse. Tunc angeli solito tristiores facti dicebant: 'Pro dolor, quod homo peccator iste semet ipsum plus defendere non permittit; et ob ipsius propria merita nullum ei adiutorium possumus prebere.' Et auferebant superpositi tutaminis defensionem. Tunc daemones gaudentes et exultantes de universis mundi partibus congregati maiori multitudine, quam omnium animantium in saeculo fieri aestimaret, diversis eum tormentis inaestimabiliter fatigantes lacerabant.[48]

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whenever they sinned in word or deed, the spirit proclaimed it to the other abandoned spirits that they might be glad and rejoice. And when a man sinned the evil spirit made no delay by waiting until he should sin again, but brought each error singly to the notice of the other spirits. At one moment he pressed sinful deeds upon the man, and at the next announced among the demons their accomplishment." (Kylie, p. 86.)

[48] Tangl, p. 14; emphasis mine. "And he bore witness likewise about Ceolred, King of the Mercians, who, there is no doubt, was still in the flesh when this vision was seen. He beheld the king protected against the onslaught of demons by a screen of angels like a great book spread out above him. But the enraged demons kept demanding of the angels that this defence be taken away and that they be permitted to work their cruel will upon him. They imputed to him a multitude of horrible crimes, and threatened that he must be shut in the direst dungeons of hell and there, as his sins merited, be tortured by eternal torments.

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This "bulwark" formed in the shape of a book by Ceolred's protecting angels may well be an allusion, however oblique, to the literal book of good deeds present at the individual judgment of souls we have seen described in homilies and other vision narratives. In these other texts the contents of this book decides the fate of the individual soul in an image that is reminiscent of and points forward to the Final Judgment of the "Larger Apocalypse," when the seven seals of the Book of Life will be broken and Christ will judge all of mankind collectively. In Boniface's letter, however, the book is literalized and the image transferred from a context of judgment to one of martial combat at the moment of death. Again, it is possible that despite their obvious differences this novel use of the image of the book is to be equated with the individual's record of good deeds. This notion gains support from the angels' complaint, in which they lament the fact that this sinner would not "suffer his defence to stand" (plus defendere non permittit), i.e. did not provide for a strong enough defence by avoiding sin and accumulating a greater number of virtuous deeds.

Alternatively, the inclusion of the book-as-protection motif in the original Latin may point to something more concrete and worldly than Ceolred's own "personal" and under-stocked book of good deeds; it may in fact be a more specific reference to the king's failure to fulfill his responsibilities with respect to a monastic house (or houses) with which he had entered upon an agreement of "confraternity." Boniface's singling out

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Whereupon the angels, more disheartened than was their wont, said: "Alas, that a sinner should not suffer his defence to stand, and that through his own fault we cannot afford him any aid." And they took away the bulwark from above him. Then the demons with joy and exaltation gathering from all the universe in numbers he thought beyond all men drew the breath of life harassed and tore him with infinite tortures." (Kylie, pp. 86-87.)

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and naming of this king may thus be a pointed and specific form of political criticism, for like other political visions that are designed to admonish or criticize the historical figures identified in them (usually as sinners suffering in hell),[49] this one refers to a still living Ceolred (the letter is generally dated to just before Ceolred's death in 716, and Boniface himself claims that the vision took place while Ceolred was "still in the flesh").

Ceolred's two immediate predecessors were religious monarchs: Æthelred was "a benefactor of many churches," and he retired to a monastery in 704. Æthelred's nephew Cenred succeeded him, but he, too, abdicated in order to live a religious life: after just four years as king he left for Rome. Ceolred was Æthelred's son, "a dissolute youth, who oppressed monasteries."[50] Boniface may have been moved to include this anecdote by reports he had received of the King's extraordinary sins against monasteries in general,[51] or he may have had knowledge of some more particular crime against one monastic establishment. However that may be, given Ceolred's alienation of monastic communities with which his own royal house had had ties (ties established or strengthened during the reigns of his more pious predecessors), one might take the book depicted in Boniface's letter to stand for the confraternity book, or *Liber Vitae*, in

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[49] Cf. Dinzelbacher 1981, p. 57 ff. for political visions.

[50] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England.* 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947, p. 202

[51] Boniface later invokes the evil reign of Ceolred in a letter to another Mercian king, Æthelred, in which he reprimands him for his loose dealings with women. Up until Ceolred's reign, says Boniface, the privileges of the churches had remained untouched and unviolated, but it was at the suggestion of the devil (diabolico instinctu) that Ceolred began to oppress the monasteries and commit adultery with consecrated nuns (in stupratione et adulterio nonnarum et fractura monasteriorum). According to Boniface, Ceolred was driven insane by the same evil spirit who had caused him to sin so greatly, and he departed this life conversing with devils and cursing the priests (cum diabolis sermocinans et Dei sacerdotes abhominans). Tangl, pp. 152-53.

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which the names of the king and other patrons and brethren were recorded. The members of such confraternities said prayers for the salvation of these peoples' souls.[52] Ceolred's oppression of the monasteries would certainly have put an end to the prayers being said on his behalf, and it may be the "protection" of these prayers–represented here by the book-like phalanx of the guardian angels–that Ceolred is seen to have lost by his own actions.

If the preceding discussion of combat motifs between angels and demons has served its purpose it will have accomplished two things. First, it will have demonstrated something of the variety with which this literature represents the significant narrative function of demons as the spiritual adversaries of human souls (and their angelic guardians) at their individual post-mortem judgment. Second, it will have provided the necessary background for the analysis that follows–an analysis of a quite different kind of "text" than what we have been concerned with thus far, but one in which the motif of combat over the fate of an individual human soul plays a role of central importance.

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[52] The practice of compiling such lists of benefactors for whom prayers were to be said is an old one: "This custom certainly prevailed as early as the time of Boniface, archbishop of Metz" (*Liber Vitae Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*. Publications of the Surtees Society 13, London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1841, p. ix). Of the purpose of such books the editor of the Durham *Liber Vitae* remarks further: "The fact of the benefactor's name being recorded in the "Liber Vitæ" belonging to the particular church which he assisted by his liberality, was coupled with the hope, and the prayer, that the same name might at last find a place in the "Book of Life" in which those are enrolled who shall be faithful unto death" (p. vii).

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IV.

Sometime in the second quarter of the eleventh century a monk belonging to the community of New Minster, Winchester, sat down at his workspace to compose two illustrations for inclusion in a very important book. The unknown illustrator of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* was an accomplished artist, and the line drawings appearing on folios 6^{v} and 7^{r} of BL ms Stowe 944 are among the best known Anglo-Saxon illuminations extant today. (See Fig. 1, p. 235, below.) Following their first publication in Walter de Gray Birch's 1892 edition of the manuscript, they have appeared in just about every art historical survey or study of Anglo-Saxon art published since.[53] The fame of these drawings outside of the fields of Art History in general and Anglo-Saxon studies in particular, is underlined by their appearance in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, under the heading–significantly I might add–of "Purgatory." Despite their status as a frequently reproduced piece of medieval English art, I know of only one written analysis of this so-called Last Judgment scene and its vernacular literary relations, namely that in Dr Joyce Galpern's 1977 Berkeley dissertation entitled, "The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England."

Nearly all scholars who describe the drawing label it simply a Last Judgment scene. Yet a review of the contemporary and traditional models for depicting the events of the collective judgment of mankind shows that

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[53] Among these are: Robert Deshman, "Anglo-Saxon Art After Alfred." *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 176-200; C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*; K.M. Openshaw, "The Battle Between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter." *Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institute* 52 (1989): 14-33; T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art.* London: Methuen, 1949; Robert Hasenfratz, "The Line Drawings of the New Minster: *Liber Vitae* in their Context." Unpublished paper, abstract in *OEN* 23, Spring 1990, p, C-4; Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100.* New York: Garland, 1986; Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066.*

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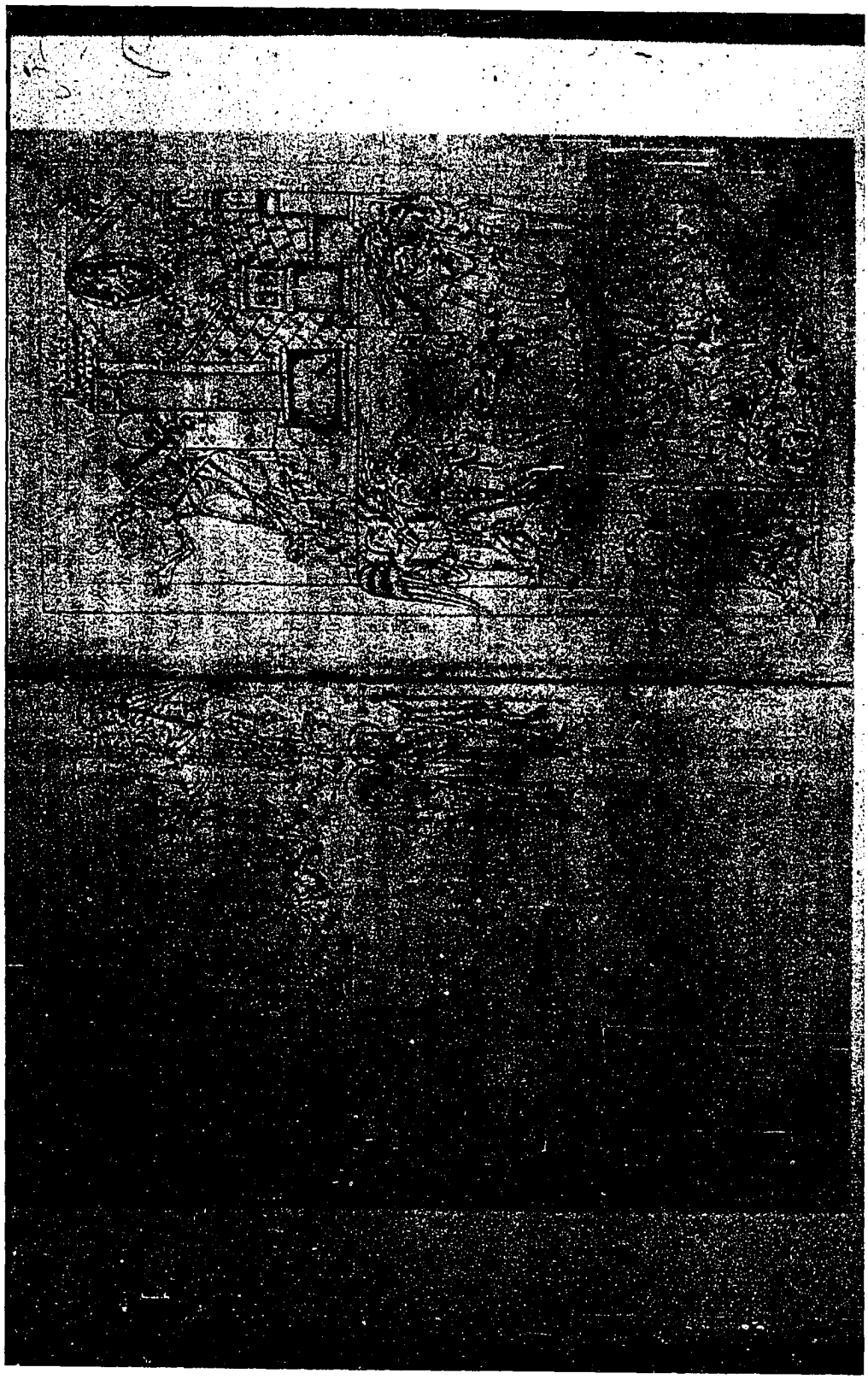


Figure 1. BL ms Stowe 944, folios 6v-7r.

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the Stowe drawing bears very little resemblance to these models. In what follows I shall attempt to redefine this so-called Last Judgment scene by calling attention to a number of motifs which it shares with a variety of Old English and Latin texts. But it seems appropriate to preface my argument by posing a simple question: why should one bother to call attention to and trace the motifs and visual allusions which this drawing shares with the Old English and Latin literary analogues, what do we stand to learn from it? A preliminary answer to this is that because the drawing can be dated and placed with relative accuracy, whatever we discover has the potential for shedding light on some aspects of the intellectual and religious perspectives of the Anglo-Saxons who commissioned and executed the drawings. Whatever else they reveal, the literary allusions underlying these scenes might tell us something new, or confirm what we already suspect, about methods and materials, ideas and beliefs current at the time and place of the drawing's composition, in this case, the New Minster Abbey at Winchester in the second quarter of the eleventh century. We stand to learn all the more in this instance because we are dealing with an original composition, i.e. one that has not, to the best of my knowledge, been modelled on an existing exemplar.

How are we, then, to define it more accurately? And of what use will such a more accurate definition be? To the first question I would respond that there can be no doubt that the entire composition is firmly situated in some kind of Judgment context, but careful scrutiny of the details it contains, and equally careful comparison of its motifs with Old English homiletic materials should allow us to further refine that definition in a fruitful way. The answer to the second question–concerning the utility of a new definition–is closely allied to that of the first: whatever emerges from

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our analysis of this drawing may be said to augment the texts we possess that shed light on Anglo-Saxon ideas about eschatology, individual postmortem judgment, the efficacy of intercessory prayer and perhaps even the development of a belief in purgatory.

Folio 6^{v} of the composition (see Fig. 2, p. 238) shows at the top two groups of figures being guided by a pair of angels; because they all wear the nimbus, the group on the right appears to be comprised of saints, while the figures on the left, without nimbus, but holding the palm of victory, represent holy martyrs. Below this group, with their gaze directed at the scene to the right, are two figures who have been identified as St Benedict (with the cross-staff) and Ælgar, first Abbot of New Minster (A.D. 965), whose name appears to the left of them, in red, on the page. The top register on folio 7^{r} depicts St. Peter, one of the most prominent patron saints of the New Minster, beckoning to the saints and martyrs to follow him into the Celestial City, the gates of which he has unlocked with his double-warded keys, and in which Christ is shown sitting in majesty, with four figures–it has been suggested the Evangelists–worshipping him. (See Fig. 3, p. 239.) Below this, in the second register, St. Peter clouts a devil over the head with his keys, while the soul in the middle looks up imploringly at Peter, and a demon and an angel, taken by most to be the Archangel Michael, each hold up an open book. To the right of this struggle, another demon lays hold of two other figures, presumably damned souls. In the bottom-most register we see an angel, again usually taken to be Michael, locking the doors of hell and throwing the key over his shoulder. The first detail I would call attention to here is that St. Michael does not have two separate keys, as Galpern suggests; rather this is better understood as a classic example of Kurt Weitzmann's simultaneous

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Figure 2. BL ms Stowe 944, folio 6v

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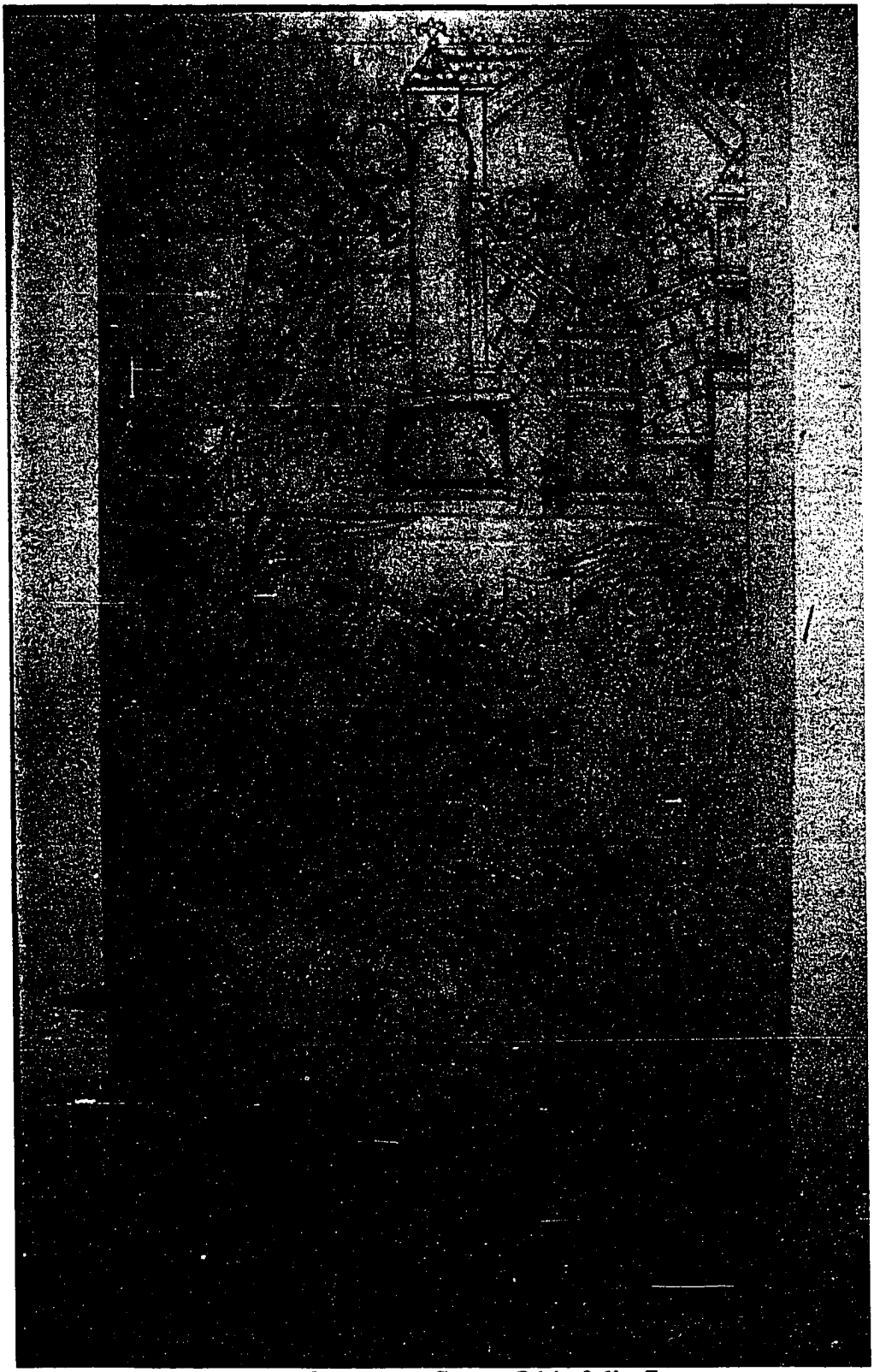


Figure 3. BL ms Stowe 944, folio 7r

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representation of multiple actions in a single miniature, the relevance of which will be made clear below.[54] Meanwhile another demon is dragging two damned souls down with him into hellmouth, as two other figures on the right and one on the left tumble as well into the open jaws of hell.

There seems to be general scholarly agreement that the composition as a whole has no parallels among existing medieval illuminations, English or otherwise.[55] Because the designer/artist was not copying or adapting an already existent model, he would have had to rely on his own imagination to provide the elements for the drawing, and, as I hope to show, his imagination is likely to have been influenced as much by texts that he read or heard as by the visual materials he was used to working with. Having no

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[54] Weitzmann, Kurt, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration.* Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 2. 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1970). See especially his chapter on "The General Relation between literature and the representational arts: A. The Three Methods of Rendering the Literary Content. (p. 12 ff), 1: The Simultaneous Method." Referring to a classical representation of Homer's Odyssey (6th c. B.C. cup), Odysseus offers cup to cyclops, and holds beam in hand, etc., "With a naive gaiety the archaic artist depicts three moments of the tale as one single scene without repeating any of its participants, thereby transgressing the limitations of the unity of time, which later on were so much respected by the representational arts." (p.13)

[55] Though Dimitri Tselos finds in certain details traces of a possible influence by the Utrecht Psalter, these have no bearing on the overal makeup of the composition; at most there are hints at a similarity in style in one or two figures. (Dimitri Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter." *The Art Bulletin* 41 (1959): 137-149, at pp. 139-40, and note 15) In contemplating the absence of models one should of course keep in mind that more medieval manuscripts have been lost or destroyed in past centuries than we can well imagine. Simon Keynes cites the following sources in his discussion of the fates of monastic and episcopal archives: "It is salutary to read John Aubrey's description (Britton, *Aubrey*, pp. 78-9) of the various uses to which the manuscripts of Malmesbury Abbey were put: in his grandfather's time 'the manuscripts flew about like butterflies', and in his own time they were used for covering books, wrapping up gloves, scouring fire-arms and stopping the bung-holes in barrels of ale. No wonder that he remarks: 'Before the late warres a world of rare manuscripts perished hereabouts.'" And on the depletion of episcopal archives: "This is true not only of monastic archives, but also of the archives of episcopal churches: for though they may have survived the sixteenth century, they were often seriously depleted in the following centuries. Thus John Chase describes the devastation of the archives at the Old Minster Winchester when soldiers of Cromwell's army broke into the Chapter House in 1646: '. . . divers of the Writings and charters burnt, divers throwen into the River, divers large parchments being made kytes withall to flie in the aire . . .' (Stephens and Madge, *Documents*, p. 57)." Quoted after Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, p. 2, notes 1 and 3.

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guiding models before him, he would need to be very aware of the function this illumination was to serve, and that awareness would have influenced his choice of subjects and motifs. The context in which the drawing appears reveals this intended "function," for the *Liber Vitae* in which these drawings are found is a "confraternity book," defined by Helmut Gneuss as follows:

> ...a record kept by a monastic community, consisting of lists of names of the members of this community, of its benefactors--kings and other royal personages, bishops, landowners and local layfolk--and of the members of other religious bodies with which an agreement of "confraternity" had been concluded; the texts of these agreements would also be entered in the book. It was the purpose of such confraternities that the community should pray for all those inscribed in their book, the *familiares*, whether living or dead.[56]

As Gneuss points out, late Anglo-Saxon descriptions of such practice are to be found in the *Regularis Concordia* and in the preface to the list of brethren, monks and benefactors in the *Liber Vitæ* of New Minster, Winchester. The book provides the names of those for whom the monks are to pray for intercession, while the drawings illustrate both this action and the intended results. The dedication scene found on fol. 6^r (See Fig. 4, p. 242) includes a depiction of monks offering these intercessory prayers, a subject which Joyce Galpern calls "unusual in the iconography of this period."[57] Here Christ is represented as the Judge, with the open Book of

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[56] Gneuss, Helmut. "Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology." In *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 91-141, at p. 140.
[57] Joyce Ruth Galpern. "The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England." PhD, University of California, Berkeley, 1977, p. 120.

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Figure 4. BL ms Stowe 944, folio 6r

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Life in his hand, while the prayers being offered by the monks below seem directed towards Mary and Peter, and they may be, as Galpern suggests, those offered for the royal house specified in the *Concordia*, as witnessed by the presence of Cnut and his Queen Ælfgyfu. The middle panel of the so-called Judgment scene shows, of course, St. Peter's active intervention on behalf of a soul whose fate is at least ambiguous, as is shown by the struggle for its possession between Peter and the Devil. As Hasenfratz has remarked, this drawing is designed to exhort its viewers, the monks of New Minster, to offer prayers of intercession, for it clearly demonstrates the effectiveness of these prayers.[58] There exists of course abundant literary evidence, especially in the late AS period, for the belief in the efficacy of intercessory prayers, and one could do worse than to cite Ælfric on the subject. At the end of his sermon on the Greater Litany for Tuesday, in which he recounts the vision of Drihthelm, Ælfric points out that

> Micel is Godes mildheortnys ofer mancynne, þam ðe wel willað. We on ðisum life magon helpan þam forðfarenum þe on witnunge beoð, and we magon us sylfe betwux us on life ælc oðrum fultumian to ðam upplican life, gif we ðæs cepað: and þa ðe fulfremed wæron, and to Godes rice becomon, magon fultumian ægðer ge us ge ðam forðfarenum þe on witnunge sind, gif hi mid ealle forscyldgode ne beoð. Sy wuldor and lof ðam welwillendum Gode a on ecnysse. Amen.[59]

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[58] Robert Hasenfratz, "The Line Drawings of the New Minster: *Liber Vitae* in their Context." (unpublished paper) Abstract in *OEN* 23 (Spring 1990): C-4.

[59] "Great is God's mercy over mankind, to those who are benevolent. We in this life may help the departed that are in torment, and we may, among ourselves in life, aid each other to the life above, if we observe this; and those who were perfect, and have attained to the kingdom of God, may aid both us and the departed that are in torment, if they are not totally condemned. Be glory and praise to the benevolent God ever to eternity." (Ælfric, *In Letania Maiore. Feria Tertia--alia uisio* (Dryhthelm); Thorpe, 2:356.)

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This brings us to the first refinement to be made to our definition of this drawing, namely that it is as much an intercession scene as it is one of Judgment: Peter is very clearly and graphically interceding on behalf of the soul threatened by the devil in the middle register. Further indications that we are dealing with something other than the traditional Last Judgment scene are to be found in the top register. There we notice that Christ is depicted in a relatively diminutive size–which strikes one as really too small to indicate the central figure in the drama of the Last Judgment. I interpret this top register, then, not as part of a Last Judgment scene, but rather as a depiction of the ultimate reward granted to the blessed; it is one of the consequences of Judgment, but not part of the central action. Likewise the bottom register depicts the other, equally everlasting consequence of the Final Judgment: eternal damnation and torment in Hell. Taken together these two scenes constitute a view of the final, post-Judgment reward and punishment of good and bad souls. Consequently the central action of the composition as a whole can hardly be termed one of Judgment, given the relative insignificance of Christ, and the prominence of Peter, whose intercession and struggle with the devil for control of the soul shown in the middle register forms such an arresting feature of the illustration.

If it is reasonable to assume, then, that the artist was primarily concerned with representing the efficacy of intercessory prayers (represented by the middle register), and the consequences for individual souls of heeding or ignoring that exhortation to prayer (subjects of the top and bottom registers), then we may now try to determine which literary traditions he is most likely to have turned to for the details of these scenes.

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The student of the Old English anonymous homilies is not likely to have missed the striking parallels between the bottom register of our drawing and the closing scene of three eschatological homilies, most prominent of which is Vercelli Homily 15. This homily contains two motifs which are of particular interest here. Following the discussion of the Signs of Doomsday there appears what Dr Mary Clayton has termed a "Delivering the Damned" motif. Here Mary, Michael and Peter each come forward, throwing themselves at Christ's feet to beg for mercy for a third portion of the souls condemned at the Final Judgment. Christ grants them their wish, turns to the two groups of souls now divided and seals their fate by pronouncing the "Uenite, benedicti" and "Discedite, maledicti" formulas. The text then turns to a description of the fate of the truly damned souls:

> 7 þonne gesamniað ða dioflu hie tosomne 7 hie drifað þa synfullan 7 ða cearfullan sawla to helle. 7 se halga Petrus gæð mid 7 bereð hellecægan on handa. Eala, broðor mine, hwæt! ðær mæg gehyran micel sorh 7 mycel wanung 7 mycel sworetung 7 mycel wop 7 toða gristbitung 7 þone hludestan sarigcerm 7 þone sarigestan stefn 7 þone sarigestan wanunge 7 granunge. 7 þonne drifað ða deofla þa synfullan sawla 7 þa dreorigan in hellewitu. 7 hie sylfe gað mid in on þa helle, 7 þonne wendeð sanctus Petrus þanon to helldura. 7 he beluceð þa helleduru syðþan þa earman sawla beoð in ða ecan helle 7 in ða ecan cwylmnesse 7 ða deofla mid him. 7 þonne wendeð him sanctus Petrus þanon fram þære helledura. 7 he ðonne weorpeð ða cearfullan cæge ofer bæc in on þa helle. Ðis he deð forðam þe he ne mæg locian on ðæt mycle sar 7 on ðam myclan wanunge 7 on ðam myclan wope þe þa earman sawla dreogað mid ðam deoflum in

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> helletintrego. Eala, broðor mine, hu mycel 7 hu hlud bið se cnyll þonne seo cæge fealleð in ða helle![60]

The parallels between this and the Stowe drawing are striking indeed. The homily describes doomed souls being driven by demons down into hell, graphically represented here by the devil who clutches two unfortunate figures by the hair; more significantly, the text describes Peter locking the door to hell, turning away from it, and throwing the key back down into hell, all three of which actions are clearly performed by the angel (though not Peter here) in the bottom register of the Stowe drawing. One is quick to conclude that there must be some relationship between the homiletic texts containing this motif and the drawing, but the precise nature of that relationship proves difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. It seems clear that the homily predates the illustration, for the earliest manuscript in which the motif occurs is the Vercelli Book, generally dated to the late tenth century, while our drawing was composed sometime in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[61]

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60 "And then the demons assemble and they drive the sinful and the anxious souls to hell. And the blessed Peter goes with them, carrying in his hands the key to hell. Lo, fellow brethren, alas! In that place one may hear great lamentation and howling, great moaning and weeping and gritting of teeth and the loudest of wailing and the most woeful of voices and the most sorrowful groaning and lamentation. And then the demons drive those sad and sinful souls into the torments of hell, and they themselves accompany them into hell, and then Saint Peter turns back to the door of hell, and he then locks the door of hell as soon as those poor souls are inside that eternal hell, that eternal torment, and those demons with them. And then Saint Peter turns away from the doors of hell and next he throws that woeful key backwards down into hell. This he does because he cannot bear to witness that great suffering and that great wailing and weeping that those pitiable souls must endure with the devil in hell-torment. Lo, fellow brothers, how great and how loud is the knell when that key falls into hell!" Vercelli Homily XV, ed. Förster.

61 Ultimately the idea of an angel locking the doors of hell may be traced back to the Apocalypse of John, where in the opening verses of chapter 20 we read,

> And I saw an angel coming down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years.

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The nature of the parallels in the Vercelli homily is not such that we must or even may assume that the artist was working from a text of a homily containing this motif, it seems rather more likely that he was working from memory--perhaps his concern with the theme of intercession triggered in his mind the recollection of something resembling the Vercelli homily. One might be justified in wondering why he did not make use here of the intercession scene we have seen in Vercelli; intercession seems to be the main thematic concern of the illustration. One might in fact defend the notion that this picture is afterall, a Last Judgment scene based on a text similar to, if not the same as, the one in the Vercelli book. Such an argument would assume that the artist chose to focus only on the intervention of Peter, not the angel–a choice influenced no doubt by that saint's special affiliation with the New Minster. Such an interpretation might view the middle register as a representation of Peter's intervention on behalf of one of the third portion of the damned for whom he pleads, and assume that the rest of the action described in the homiletic motif occurs off-stage, as it were. But there are a number of details that I feel speak against this theory, despite the fact that our artist probably derived the locking of hell motif as it is depicted here from a text related to Vercelli XV. First, there is no mention in any of the relevant homilies of

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This idea appears in an equally certain Last Judgment context in the OE *Christ III*:

> Ðonne halig gæst helle biluceð,
> morþerhusa mæst, þurh meaht godes,
> fyres fulle, ond feonda here,
> cyninges worde. Se biþ cwealma mæst
> deofla ond monna!

(The holy ghost will lock up hell, greatest of murderous houses, through the power of God, full of fire and the army of fiends at the king's command. That shall be the greatest of agonies for devils and men. ASPR III, p. 48, ll.1623-1627a)

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the books of good and evil deeds shown here. Second, if the size of the respective books is any indication (notice that the one Michael holds is larger and contains multiple pages, while the devil's volume would appear to be no more than a single bi-folium), the good deeds of this soul far outnumber his sins, so we should not reckon him among the finally and utterly damned driven down into hell by the demons in the Vercelli homily. He seems more properly to belong to the group of souls to whom Ælfric refers in the homily cited above as those who may be aided by intercessory prayers "gif hi mid ealle forscyldgode ne beoþ," ("if they are not totally condemned)."

If it seems clear that the author of Vercelli XV and the artist of the Stowe illustration drew upon a common tradition for this motif, no such certain analogues have yet been adduced for the remaining panels. There are in fact a number of relevant texts that contain motifs analogous to various details in our drawing; as we have already seen, Bede includes an anecdote in his *Ecclesiastical History* that combines individual judgment, a battle between devils and angels over the fate of a soul, and the books of good and evil deeds.[62]

Alcuin's *Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* contains an episode that deals with the fate of a departed soul, but it also incorporates the themes of intercession and combat. It should be emphasized that the particular brand of intercession shown in our drawing is depicted in terms of combat--a physical struggle between the saint and the devil, and the artist has done a masterful job of portraying that

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[62] This can hardly be thought of as the only source, however, though the Stowe artist may well have known it, for in addition to its appearance in both the Latin and Old English versions of Bede's EH, Ælfric used it in one of his own homilies.

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struggle: a tug-of-war is underway as each figure turns away, one arm of the poor soul firmly in his grasp. Again, it seems clear from the relative size of the books, and Peter's novel use of his keys, that this combat is decided in the poor soul's favor. The fact that St. Peter is holding this soul by the arm, and that he is presumably interceding in response to the prayers offered by monks, is reminiscent of a scene described by Alcuin in his poem. Here Alcuin recounts an anecdote concerning St. Baldred, whom he praises for his battles against demons:

> Vir pius ille quidem quodam dum tempore solus
> incubuit precibus meditans caelestia tantum,
> horribilem subito strepitum simul atque fragorem
> audivit, veluti vulgi erumpentis in hostes.
> Tunc anima ex superis cuiusdam nubibus eius
> ante pedes cecidit nimio tremefacta timore,
> quam mox turba minax ingenti horrore secuta est
> cum variis miseram poenis torquere volentum.
> At pater ille pius placidis amplexibus illam
> arripuit gremio, statimque inquirit ab illa
> quae esset, cur fugeret, faceret vel quae mala. Cui tunc
> respondit: "Levita fui, sed mente maligna
> feminea amplexus manibus sum pectora tantum
> et culpam erubui vivens in carne fateri.
> Nunc idcirco feri duris incursibus hostes
> per triginta dies meme torquere sequuntur.
> Nec captata fui, sed nec secura remansi."
> Tunc terrebat eum clamans ex hostibus unus:
> "Non hodie effugies, nec si tenearis in ulnis
> Petri, sed meritas patieris, pessime, poenas."
> Sanctus at irascens Petri convicia propter
> haec ait: "Ecce minor meritis sum centies illo
> principe apostolico; sed de pietate Tonantis
> confidens dico tibi, trux et save tyranne:

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'Non hodie portabis eam sub Tartara tecum.'"[63]

Thereupon the holy man falls to the ground and implores God with prayers and tears to forgive the soul's guilt. As will be clear, this passage is of interest for Peter's invocation, the combat with the devil for a soul not utterly lost, and its illustration of the efficacy of prayer.

There does exist, however, a closer textual and pictorial analogue of the middle panel which I feel contributes significantly to our reassessment of the specific thematic concerns and overall determinacy of the Stowe composition.[64] The Anglo-Saxons were certainly familiar with the *Visio Baronti*, the story of the seventh-century saint's journey to the otherworld,

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[63] "That pious man was once alone and praying fervently,
his only thoughts were of Heaven,
when of a sudden he heard a terrible uproar and din
like that of a host charging the enemy.
From the upper clouds there fell at his feet
a soul which quivered in great fear.
Hard on its tail followed a terrifying, menacing throng
bent on torturing the unhappy man with various punishments.
But that pious father clasped it to his bosom in gentle embrace
and immediately asked it what it was, why it was in flight
and what wrong it had done. To him the soul replied:
"I was once a deacon, but with evil intent,
I once laid hands on a woman's breasts--no more.
When I lived on earth I was ashamed to admit my sin.
And so the cruel demons have been pursuing me relentlessly
for thirty days in order to torment me. I have
not been captured, but I have never been free from anxiety."
Then one of the demons terrifying him cried out:
"Today you will not escape, no, not if you were clasped
in the arms of St. Peter. You will suffer the punishment
you deserve, evil one." The saint grew angry at the insult to
Peter, and said, "I am a hundred times less worthy than that
prince of the apostles, but with trust in God's goodness
I say to you, tyrant ruthless and cruel, that you shall not
carry this soul off to Hell with you today!" (Text and translation from *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*. ed. Peter Godman. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, pp. 104-06, ll. 1333-1357).

[64] I should like to acknowledge my debt to Dr Thomas N. Hall for bringing this to my attention.

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and they may even have known it in an Old English translation.[65] At least one of the surviving manuscripts was illuminated.

This "Vision of Barontus" recounts the near-death experience of the saint of that name, who falls ill and enters a comatose state during which his soul is led from his body and taken on a tour of the otherworld. The story is told from two different perspectives: that of his fellow monks who watch over him during the course of his illness and apparent death, and that of Barontus himself upon his revival. Finding him one day after divine office writhing on the floor and gesturing towards his throat, Barontus's colleagues believe that he has been stricken down by some demonic agency, and they take measures to "disinfect" his cell with holy water. His condition worsens, however, and thinking him dead, the monks begin to pray for the welfare of his soul.

Upon his recovery, Barontus tells how at the outset of his fever he had been grabbed by the throat by two foul demons intent upon dragging him to hell. The moment his brothers begin their prayers, however, the archangel Raphael flies to his aid and disputes with the demons for possession of his soul. Thus begins the first scene of rescue prompted by intercessory prayer. Raphael is not able to shake the demons, however, for they persist in their claim on Barontus' soul and will yield only to God's judgment. So Raphael decides to take Barontus to the celestial city; he releases him from his earthly body, provides him with a spiritual one, and off they fly to the heavenly paradise.

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[65] See Napier, A.S. "An Old English Vision of Leofric Earl of Mercia." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1908): 180-88, at 108, first note, and Thomas N. Hall, "Visio Baronti," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, forthcoming.

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The journey is less than smooth, however. As the four of them fly over Barontus' monastery, Raphael again tries to disperse the two demons by invoking the prayers being said below,[66] but to no avail. Shortly thereafter, four more demons join in the struggle, and the sinner Barontus really begins to fear for the fate of his soul. Raphael redoubles his efforts against them, and succeeds in driving off these demonic reinforcements with an antiphon.[67] But the two demons who were present at the parting of his soul and body cling tenaciously to Barontus.

On their journey through paradise the group passes through four towers or mansions, each of which is occupied by a well-defined group of souls. (Fig. 5, p. 253). The first consists of pious monks from Barontus' own monastery, many of whom he identifies by name. The second houses infants and virgins, while the third is the dwelling-place for proven saints and martyrs. I am passing over many details here, but it is important to note that each time Raphael and Barontus pass through one of these mansions, the entire congregation is moved to pray on Barontus' behalf, imploring Christ not to allow the devil to drag his soul down to hell.[68]

The effect of these prayers is revealed when the party reaches the fourth mansion. Raphael sends an angel to fetch Saint Peter, and it is at this juncture that the fate of Barontus' soul is decided in a struggle between Peter and the demons. Again, I must be brief, and point out only the most

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66 "5. Recedite, recedite, cruente bystiae; iam non potestis nocere ad istam animolam, dum signum sonavit super ipsam ecclesiam, quia fratres congregantur, ut orarent pro illam." Maria Pia Ciccarese, *Visioni dell'aldilà in occidente: fonti, modelli, testi.* Vol. 8. Florence: Biblioteca Patristica, 1987, p. 242.

67 "Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam." Psalm 50:3. (Ciccarese, p. 246.)

68 "Tu vince, bellator Christe, tu vince, et non diabolus ipsam ducat in tartarum!" (Prevail, oh Christ the Warrior, prevail, and the Devil will not lead [this soul] into hell) Ciccarese, p. 252).

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Figure 5. Codex Petropolitanis Lat. oct. I, 5, folio 1v

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pertinent similarities between this vision and the Stowe drawing. First, in the Vision of Barontus the saint is confronted by his sins, and he is surprised to learn that the demons know them all, from his earliest childhood on. While no mention is made of their having been recorded in books (as in the Stowe illustration, and other texts we have examined), this principle is a common element of the belief that guardian angels and attendant demons exerted an influence over the moral behavior of the individual, and that they were present at the postmortem judgment of the individual soul. These books are simply the most effective and economic means of portraying this belief iconographically.

The single most relevant detail in this narrative is Peter's confrontation with the demons. Peter pronounces in favor of Barontus, declaring that his good deeds far outweigh his sins. But the evil spirits still will not relinquish his soul, and it is then that Peter loses his temper. Barontus describes the ensuing scene as follows:

> Tunc sanctus Petrus in ira contra eos commotus, eis bis terque dicere coepit: "Recedite, spiritus nequam; recedite, inimici Dei eique semper contrarii, dimittite illum!" Et illi numquam me volentes laxare, statim beatissimus Petrus, tres claves, [habentes similitudinem hanc], in manu tenens, voluit eos ex ipsis clavibus in capite percutere.[69]

Figure 6 (p. 255) shows the scene as it is illustrated in the manuscript. The similarities between this and the middle panel of the Stowe drawing are evident enough to render further comment superfluous. If our illustrator

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69 "12. Then Saint Peter, moved to anger against them, said to them several times: 'Begone, worthless spirits! Begone you enemies and constant adversaries of God, let go that soul!" Since they were unwilling to release me, St. Peter immediately made to strike those devils on the head with the three keys which he held in his hand.' Ciccarese, p.254.

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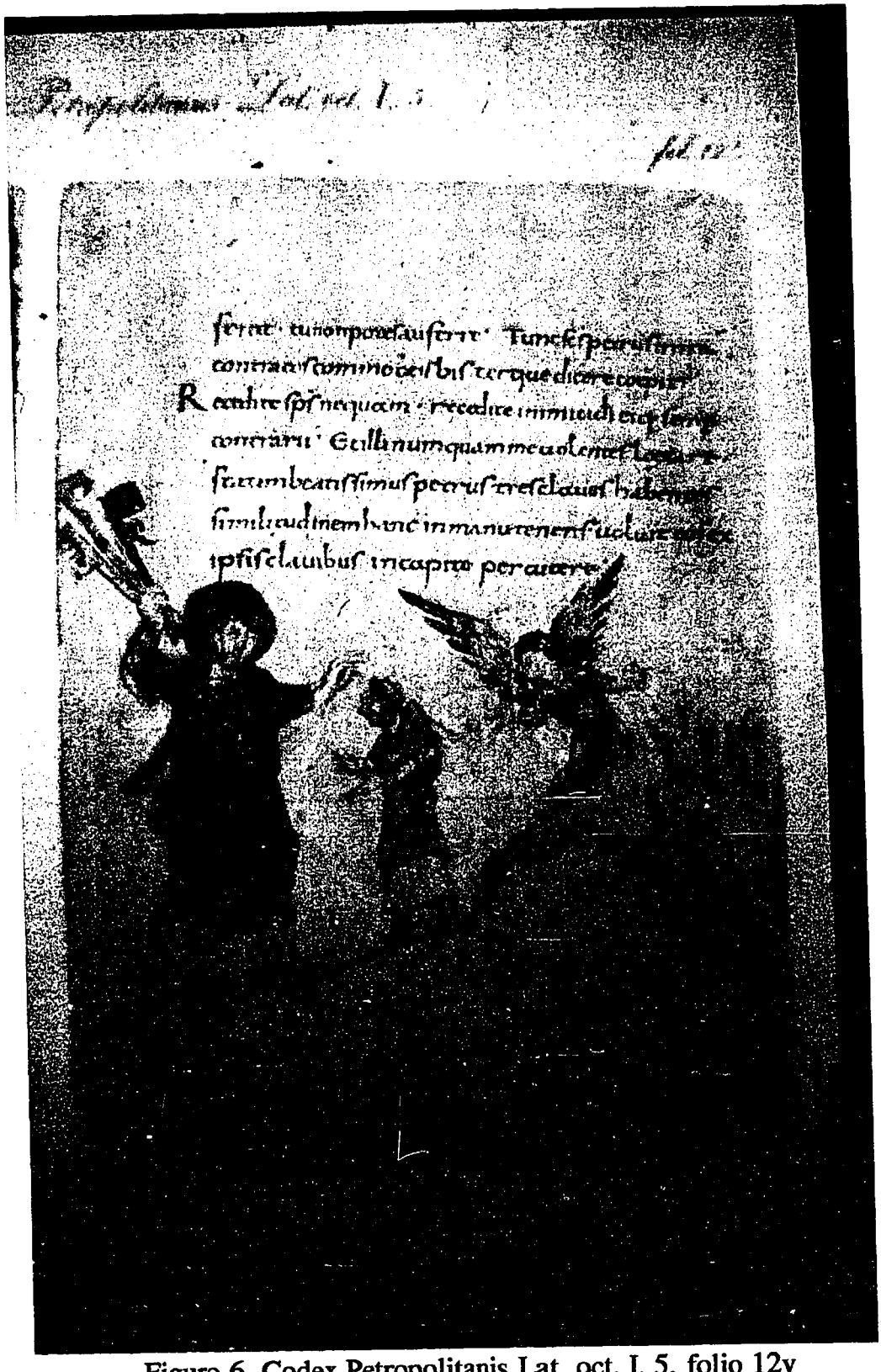


Figure 6. Codex Petropolitanis Lat. oct. I, 5, folio 12v

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was working from such an exemplar, it is clear that he adapted the subject matter to his own purposes and style.

In light of the parallels discussed so far, I would propose that what we are really dealing with here in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* is not a representation of the Final, Collective Judgment at all, but rather a scene of postmortem judgment modelled on visions of disembodied souls like the *Visio Baronti.* While we cannot say for sure which texts or orally transmitted exempla ultimately inspired the artist, we can perhaps form a better idea of their nature by outlining a body of texts that contain a number of similar motifs. Several details appearing in the middle register are particularly suggestive of the relation between the Stowe drawing and popular vision literature. For example, the representation of the contested figure here is the iconographic commonplace of the disembodied soul depicted as the homunculus. What is more, the books held up by the Archangel Michael and the demon reflect a motif that is, as we have seen, common in many early medieval accounts of the soul's departure from the body, namely that the deeds are there to be read, either by accusing devils or angels, or the soul itself, and it is they which will determine whether the soul is destined for bliss, purification or torment.

For even closer parallels we may turn to texts incorporating some form of a motif that often found its way into death-scene visions, i.e. the motif of the Soul's Address to the Body. A representative example of this in Old English is found in Napier's pseudo-Wulfstan homily XXIX, where the writer illustrates the fate of an unconfessed soul on it's day of doom, witnessed by "sum halig man" in a vision. This holy man sees the soul cowering in its body, with devils who have recorded its deeds lying in wait to claim it. Thus far the general setting is similar enough to our drawing.

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But somewhat further on in the piece is a passage that reinforces the notion that the Stowe drawing may have been influenced by apocryphal soul and body visions, and it may help us explain a detail in the drawing which has as yet been unaccounted for. In this homily, once the soul has cursed his body, the devils mete out punishment on the spot, jabbing his eyes, mouth and heart because he had abused them in life. Following their explanation of each punishment:

> ða deoflu feredon þa earman sawle þa to þystrum; þa geseah heo be þam wege mycele beorhtnyssa; þa axode heo þa deoflu, þe hi læddon, hwæt seo beorhtnys wære. hi cwædon: 'ne ongytst ðu, þæt hit ys heofonan rices gefea, þanon þu wære ær cumen to þinum lichaman, þe þu on eorðan on wunodest? nu ðu færst þurh þa beorhtan wegas, ac ðu næfst þær nane wununge. nu ðu gehyrst engla þreatas, and ðu gesihst ealra haligra beorhtnessa, and ðu næfst þær nane gemanan.' heo ongan þa wependre stefne cweþan: 'wa me earmre, þæt ic æfre middaneardes leoht geseon sceolde, and þæt ic swa mycele beorhtnesse forlætan sceolde.' ða deoflu hi ða læddon and bescuton hi anum fyrenan dracan innan þone muð, and he hi þærrihte forswealh and eft aspaw on þa hatostan brynas hellewites.[70]

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70 "The devils carried the soul off towards the darkness; then he saw along the way a great splendor, and he asked of the devils, who were leading him off, what that splendor was. They said: 'Do you not understand that it is the joy of the heavenly kingdom whence you came into your body, when you dwelt on earth? Now you travel through the bright ways, but you have no dwelling there. Now you hear the host of angels, and you see the splendor of all the saints, and you have nothing in common with them.' He spoke then in a tearful voice, 'woe is me, poor soul, that I should ever have seen the light of middle earth, and that I should have relinquished such great splendor.' Then the devils took him away and plunged him into the mouth of a firey dragon, and the dragon swallowed him and spat him back out into the hottest fires of hell-torment." Napier, Pseudo-Wulfstan XXIX, p.141, l.11-25.

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Passing over as a commonplace their common representation of hell as a dragon's mouth,[71] what I wish to emphasize is the motif of the damned catching a glimpse of the heavenly splendor they have missed out on while they are being dragged down to hell. One notices that the two figures being clutched by the demon in the lower register are unusually contorted. In itself this is not surprising, for a smooth ride down to hell is hardly to be expected.[72] But it is especially the figure on the left who suggests to me that the artist may have had the motif of the sight of the blessed as added punishment for the damned in mind, for this figure's head, and gaze, are turned conspicuously upward, and it does not take much to imagine that he is looking beyond the scene of Peter's intercession to the procession of saints and angels and the splendor of the Beatific Vision represented in the top register.

A more fully developed instance of this motif is to be found in *Christ III*, where, before any formal judgment has been made, the poet describes the three griefs of the damned as they await their inevitable fate. The first grief is the sight of the fierce fire of hell which has been prepared for their torment; the second grief is the unbearable shame of having their sins being clearly visible to one and all. The third and final grief is the following:

> Đonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorg,
> cwiþende cearo, þæt hy on þa clænan seoð,
> hu hi fore goddædum glade blissiað,
> þa hy, unsælge, ær forhogdun
> to donne þonne him dagas læstun;

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71 For an authoritative discussion of the genesis and dissemination of this motif in medieval art, see Galpern, "The Shape of Hell," *passim*.

72 The posture of these figures has iconographical parallels in the wild fall to hell of the rebel angels portrayed in the Junius 11 manuscript and the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch in Cotton Claudius B iv.

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ond be hyra weorcum wepende sar
þæt hi ær freolice fremedon unryht.
Geseoð hi þa betran blæde scinan;
ne bið him hyra yrmðu an to wite,
ac þara oþerra ead to sorgum,
þæs þe hy swa fægre gefean on fyrndagum
ond swa ænlice anforletun,
þurh leaslice lices wynne,
earges flæschoman idelne lust
(1284-1297).[73]

If the torment of the damned is increased by their seeing the joy of the blessed, the opposite is also the case.[74] In *Christ III*, the blessed receive

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[73] "Then that third grief for the sufferers,
wailful sorrow, will be that they shall look upon the pure ones,
how they rejoice in gladness because of their good deeds,
which they, wretched ones, scorned before
to do when their days continued;
and weeping sorely for their deeds,
that they before eagerly committed injustice.
They shall see the more righteous shining in glory.
Not only their own afflictions will be a torment to them,
but the blessedness of the others will be a sorrow,
because in days past they forsook
joys so fair and excellent
because of the false joys of the flesh,
the vain lust of the vile body." ASPR III, ll. 1284-97.

[74] A relevant early use of this motif is a passage from Gregory's 40th homily in his series of Forty Homilies on the Gospels: "So that sinners in torment may be punished the more, they see the glory of those they despised and are punished grievously for the things they uselessly loved. But we must believe that, before the retribution of the Last Judgment, the wicked see some of the righteous in peace; so that, seeing them in bliss, they are afflicted both by their own torment and by the good the righteous enjoy. But the righteous always gaze upon the wicked in torment so their joy can thus increase (because they see the evil they mercifully escaped). They will render greater thanks to their Saviour insofar as they see others suffer what they themselves would have suffered had they been left behind. Watching the reprobate being punished does not darken the brightness of the great blessedness in the souls of the righteous. Since the blessed will not pity this misery, it will certainly be unable to diminish their happiness. But what a marvellous thing if, when the righteous gaze on the torments of the wicked, it should serve to bring them joy. For when black is used as the ground in a painting, white or red are seen more clearly. As the saying goes, the joys of the good will increase insofar as the evils of the damned which they escaped lie before their eyes. Though their joys are enough for them to be completely happy, yet without question they will always see the evils of the wicked. For nothing

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three "signs" that they will be rewarded for doing the will of the Lord in word and deed. The first sign is that their bodies will shine like the sun, the second and third as follows:

An is ærest orgeate þær
þæt hy fore leodum leohte blicaþ,
blæde ond byrhte ofer burga gesetu.
him on scinað ærgewyrhtu,
on sylfra gehwam sunnan beorhtran.
Oþer is to eacan ondgete swa some,
þæt hy him in wuldre witon waldendes giefe,
ond on seoð, eagum to wynne,
þæt hi on heofonrice hlutre dreamas
eadge mid englum agan motun.
Ðonne bið þridde, hu on þystra bealo
þæt gesælige weorud gesihð þæt fordone
sar þrowian, synna to wite,
weallendne lig, ond wyrma slite
bitrum ceaflum, byrnendra scole.
Of þam him aweaxeð wynsum gefea,
þonne hi þæt yfel geseoð oðre dreogan,
þæt hy þurh miltse meotudes genæson.
Ðonne hi þy geornor gode þonciað
blædes ond blissa þe hy bu geseoð,
þæt he hy generede from niðcwale
ond eac forgeaf ece dreamas;
bið him hel bilocen, heofonrice agiefen.[75]

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happens in creation which those who see their Creator's brilliance cannot see." (Translation Calder & Allen, pp. 100-01)

[75] The second also shall be likewise clear,
that in glory they shall know God's grace,
and gaze, a delight to the eyes,
that they can possess pure joys in heaven
blessed among the angels.
Then the third shall be, how that happy band
shall behold the ruined one suffering in agony
in the misery of darkness as punishment for sins,

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The second of the two signs described here is relevant in a general way, for the four figures shown worshipping Christ in the upper register are no doubt rejoicing at the sight of God's grace, and it is here that they will possess the pure joys of heaven with the blessed and the angels, to whom St Peter is beckoning on the left. But there are even closer parallels between this top register and the third sign of the blessed in the *Christ III* passage. The blessed look upon the suffering of the damned, this increases their own delight at having escaped a similar fate (1247-54), and they thank the Lord all the more earnestly for their reward; we might reasonably suppose that this is exactly what the four figures are doing. But to my knowledge no one has explained the meaning of the other two figures in this scene, the ones peering out the windows of the little tower in the Heavenly city. I would suggest that they are in a position to view the punishment of the damned below, and as such, they are counterparts to the poor souls about to enter hell whose gaze is turned upward. I would argue, then, that both the tower occupants looking out and the sinners gazing upward ultimately owe their appearance in the Stowe illustration to the same tradition upon which the authors of *Christ III* and the pseudo-Wulfstan homily drew. A final relevant detail in the *Christ III* passage is line 1259: "biþ him hel bilocen, heofonrice agiefen" (To them hell will be locked, the kingdom of heaven

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the raging flame, and gnawing of worms
with bitter jaws, the host of burning ones,
from that happy delight shall spring up in them,
when they see others enduring that agony
which they by the mercy of God have escaped.
Then they thank God the more earnestly,
for glory and gladness because they behold both fortunes,
that He preserved them from destruction
and also granted them eternal joys, to them hell shall be shut, the kingdom of heaven given.
Christ III ll. 1237-1261.

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given) a collocation of ideas graphically represented in the Stowe illustration.

I should in all fairness point out that my citation of passages from *Christ III* problematizes my global interpretation of the Stowe drawing. The context of *Christ III* is, afterall, that of the Final Judgment. But this problem disappears when one realizes that the motifs incorporated in the Old English poem have been transferred from the scene of individual judgment to that of the collective one. This is a fairly common phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon Christian prose and poetry.[76] It is also important to remember that the ultimate textual inspiration for this "sight of the damned" motif has biblical authority, where the context is irrefutably that of individual judgment. In the Gospels we find passages that led ultimately to the development of two distinct traditions, which I would term the "lesser" and "greater" Apocalypses.

Whereas Matthew stresses Christ's second coming and the resurrection and Final Judgment of all mankind (e.g. 24:3 ff; 25:31-46; 26:29; 13:39 ff.; 49-50; 19:28), Luke makes clear that punishments and rewards are due immediately after death. The Gospel according to Luke alone contains the parable of the Rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:22ff), in which the rich man is carried off to hell, Lazarus to the security of Abraham's bosom upon his death. It is this parable that Gregory the Great comments on in his 40th homily on the gospels, and it is in this text that

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[76] As I point out above (section II), soul and body confrontations were originally situated in death-day scenes. In the Old English texts it seems in every case to have been an insertion or appendage to a homily on the collective judgment. See Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, pp. 33ff., where he shows that it was appended to the penitential homily *De Letania maiore*, and that it has been inserted, rather inappropriately, into a Last Judgment context in *Be Heofonwarum and be Helwarum* (p. 34-5). The Irish version (LF) has as context individual death, not final judgment, as does the Junius 85/86 sermon.

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Gregory delineates in some detail the idea that the sight of the damned increases the joy and reward of the blessed. The presence of this detail in the Stowe drawing may ultimately be traced to Gregory's formulation of the belief in this homily.

Thus far I have offered textual parallels for details in the Stowe drawing, yet we have still to account for the inspirational backgrounds of the composition as a whole. I have already suggested that the drawing shows greatest affinity with vision narratives. The details in Bede's anecdote concerning King Cenred's thane seem to support this notion, but so does the layout of the illustration itself. We note that the two monastic figures on the left are positioned in such a way that they can take in all the action in the scenes to their right: they see the battle for the soul, with heaven above and hell below. A comparison of this to the central action of the *Visio Sancti Pauli* (see p. 219, above) proves instructive. While we do find one relevant and suggestive detail in this text, namely the palmtwigs borne in the hands of the angelic host sent to escort the righteous soul to heaven, the true relevance lies in the fact that this text is a vision dealing with, among other things, individual judgment, and if we view the composition in Stowe 944 as a whole as just such a vision, then it is as if the artist were saying to his viewer, in the words of the angel in the Latin redaction,

> Sequere me, et ostendam tibi locum iustorum ubi ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint, et post hec adsumens te in abyssum ostendam tibi animas peccatorum, in qualem locum ducuntur cum defuncti fuerint.[77]

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[77] Montague Rhodes James, "*Visio Sancti Pauli.*" In *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 11-42. Cambridge: 1893; pp. 14-15. "Follow me, and I will show you the place of the righteous

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We have already seen an important variant of the Address of the Soul to the Body motif, and one closely related to the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, the "Three Utterances of the Soul" motif discussed above. The relevance of this motif to the Stowe composition becomes still clearer when we examine the structural details of the section concerning the death of the righteous man, which I have taken from Rudolph Willard's study of the apocryphon:

1. Two angels, each with a band of followers, come to meet the soul of every man at his death:
2. The righteous soul at death is as bright as the sun.
3. There is a fight for the soul.
4. The victorious angels rejoice.
5. They relate to the soul all the good it has done.
6. Michael leads the soul before God's throne, and the devils return humiliated to hell.
7. The angels cry out, "This man is ours."
8. They admonish one another, "Take the soul gently from its body."
9. The angels divide into two bands, the one preceding, the other following.
10. They chant, "Beatus quem elegisti."
11. The soul cries out in the Three Utterances, to each of which the angels reply that still greater glory awaits it.
12. The angels lead the soul into heaven.[78]

We are now in a position to consider the most pertinent elements in the account of the death of the righteous man in the anonymous homily *De*

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where they are taken when they are dead. And thereafter I will take you to the bottomless pit and show you the souls of the sinners, into what manner of place they are taken when they are dead."

78 Willard, *Two Apocrypha*, pp. 58-59.

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Letania Maiore cited earlier (p. 215). Some rather striking parallels become evident, particularly in the overall structure, between this text and the Stowe drawing. The first, already remarked upon, is the fact that it concerns a soul of a man who has just died (soul in drawing as homunculus). Next we note the combat between angels and devils in the text, and the artists adaptation of this in his drawing. Third, there is the explicit mention of the soul's deeds having been recorded in books, and the further corresponding detail of their being read by the angels. Finally, St Michael the archangel, so often the subject of extra-liturgical prayers entreating his aid at the moment of death, here (according to most interpreters of the drawing) holds the soul's book of good deeds, and it is he who will lead the blessed soul up to heaven for a personal, preliminary judgment before Christ. Are we perhaps to see in the four figures depicted in the upper register souls who have already been led up to heaven in this way by Michael? They are, in contrast to the saints, martyrs and angels on the left, rather nondescript looking figures, and so we should not discount the possibility that this panel was meant to be multivalent: on the one hand it represents the Beatific Vision, the Final reward of the blessed, while on the other it may be more closely connected to the individual drama that is unfolding in the middle register, and as such is reminiscent of the homiletic passage.

I should like to make one final point concerning the implications of arriving at a more accurate definition of the Stowe composition. This requires that we return for a moment to Dr Mary Clayton's identification of the "Delivering the Damned" motif in Vercelli homily XV. As we recall, it is this homily that contains the description of Peter locking the doors of hell and throwing the key away, and which prompted the search

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for other textual and visual analogues to the Stowe drawings. In a recent note on the same motif, Thomas D. Hill makes some observations that seem relevant to the issue of definition and context of the Stowe composition.[79]

First, following Clayton he points out how in the Vercelli homily the motif of intercession by Mary, John and Peter has been transferred from an infernal (and possibly purgatorial) context, to that of judgment (p. 76). This transferral causes some notable problems, and Ælfric raised objections to the notion of intercession at the Final Judgment that are both unmistakable and stern. As it will prove useful to have Ælfric's negative comments on the motif in mind, I print them in full below:

> Sume gedwolmen cwædon þæt seo halige Maria cristes modor. and sume oðre halgen sceolon hergian ...fter ðam dome ða synfullan of ðam deofle. ælc his dæl. Ac þis gedwyld asprang of ðam mannum. þe on heora flæsclicum lustum symle licgan woldon. and noldon mid earfoðnyssum þæt ece lif geearnian; Ne hópige nán man to ðyssere leasunge. Nele seo eadige Maria ne nán oðer halga læden ða fulan. and þa mánfullan. and þa arleasan. þe æfre on synnum þurhwunodon. and on synnum geendodon. into ðam clænan húse heofenan rices myrhðe. Ac hi beoð deoflum gelice. and on ecnysse mid deoflum on helle fyre cwylmiað; Ne mæg eal middaneard anum ðæra geðingian. þe crist þus to cweð; Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum. qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius; þæt is. gewitað fram me ge awyrigedan into ðam ecan fyre. þe ðam deofle is gegearcod. and his awyrigedum englum.[80]

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[79] Thomas D. Hill, "Delivering the Damned in Old English Anonymous Homilies and Jón Arason's *Ljómur*." *Medium Ævum* 61 (1992): 75-82.

[80] "Some heretics said that after judgment, holy Mary, Christ's mother and some other saints should harrow the sinful ones away from the Devil–each his part. But this error sprang from those men who would continually persist in their fleshly pleasures and who do not wish to earn eternal life with hardships. Let no man have hope in this lie. Neither the blessed Mary nor any saint will lead the foul and the criminal and the graceless ones who continually persisted in their sins and who died in their sins into the pure house of the mirth of the kingdom of heaven. But they [the sinners] are like devils and will suffer in eternity

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Hill remarks that "by inventing or circulating an alternative myth, however, a story which claims to embody hidden truths concerning the mystery of judgement, an Anglo-Saxon or medieval Icelander could effectively subvert one of the most fearful claims to authority of the mediaeval Church. The myth of the deliverance of the damned is thus an important revision of orthodox eschatology which has far-reaching consequences."[81] The implications this has for our interpretation of the Stowe composition are, I would argue, similarly far-reaching. If we assume that the context of the drawing is indeed that of the Final Judgment, then we are in effect granting the possibility that the scene depicted there is just as heterodox and objectionable, to someone sharing Ælfric's perspective, as the scene described in the Vercelli homily and by Ælfric himself. Perhaps the only other reason we might have for concluding that this is really the case is the apparent connection between the closing image of the Vercelli homily and the lower register of the Stowe drawing, i.e. the locking of the door to hell and casting of the key into the abyss. But we may not assume with any confidence that our artist drew this image from the Vercelli text; in fact, the odds are rather against this than in favor of it. For we should remember that the homilist borrowed the motif in the first place from some unknown source–probably, as Dr Clayton suggests, from a text such as the *Apocalypse of Mary*–and that he transferred it from the infernal to the Judgment context. Thus, if we follow Dr Clayton's

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with devils in the fire of hell. All middle earth cannot make peace for any of those to whom Christ thus speaks: 'Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum. qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius' [Matthew 25: 41]; that is, 'Depart from me you accursed ones into the eternal fire which is prepared for the Devil and his accursed angels." *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS, ss, 5 (London, 1979), p. 333 (lines 184-97). Cited after Hill, p. 75.

81 p. 80

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reasoning, the original context of this motif was not that of the Final Judgment, and there is, then, no compelling reason to assume that the Stowe artist found his materials in a Judgment context either.

The presence of the locking of the door and casting of the key elements in both representations remains problematic, however. It seems likely that these features–which, I would add, have no known source in the Latin tradition–do belong in a Judgment context, for together they signify the finality of the fate of those who at Judgment will hear Christ say, "Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius." The locking of the doors of hell is of course reminiscent of Rev. 20:1-3. But to conclude that the Stowe drawing must necessarily represent the Final Judgment because of the presence of these features is to ignore the fact that representations of eternal torment in hell appear in other contexts as well. The same holds true, *mutatis mutandi*, for the contents of the upper register: mention of the joy and bliss in heaven represented here is not restricted to eschatological discussions or contexts. What the arguments presented by Clayton and Hill in their respective articles serve to clarify, however, is that if the Stowe composition were intended to be a representation of the Final Judgment, the depiction of St Peter saving a soul apparently damned (how else to interpret the devil's claim, as illustrated here, on the Last Day?) would be problematic at best, and certainly open to the kinds of objections voiced by Ælfric. It is one thing to accept that such a "revision of orthodox eschatology" could find its way into a tradition of vernacular homiletic materials that took shape in a "provincial" setting antedating the Benedictine Reform;[82] it is quite another

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[82] It is often assumed that the Vercelli and Blickling homily collections represent a tradition that stands apart from those of Ælfric and Wulfstan by virtue of their "different"

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thing altogether, I would submit, to suppose that a representation of such a potentially controversial view of the Final Judgment (i.e., one depicting an unwarranted and from an orthodox doctrinal standpoint problematical intercession) should be approved for prominent display in the *Liber Vitae* of the firmly reformed New Minster Abbey.

The "problem" of the depictions of heavenly bliss and hellish torment in this drawing becomes considerably less of a problem when we realize that such depictions are every bit as much an element of the postmortem fate of the soul as they are of the Final Judgment. Before the general and official acceptance of the doctrine of Purgatory, wholly virtuous and truly reprobate souls were thought to ascend straight to heaven or sink immediately to hell. The panel that does most to determine the meaning of the composition as a whole, and the one that deals most directly with the subject of this chapter, is the central one, and if the foregoing argument is at all convincing, this panel situates the composition as a whole in the realm of individual postmortem judgment and intercessory prayer.

In conclusion, I would point out what Milton McC. Gatch has said of vision narratives in Old English in general :

> These visionary passages can be divided into three classes: visions concerned with individual judgment, those revealing something of

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orthodoxy. The contents of the these collections, preserved in mss of the early tenth century, are similarly assumed to antedate the Benedictine Reform movement in Anglo-Saxon England. Milton McC. Gatch describes the tradition of sermon writing to which these texts belong as one that "precede[s] the rather more cautiously orthodox period of English sermon writing inaugerated by Ælfric of Eynsham in the final decade of the first millenium." ("Two Uses of Apocrypha in Old English Homilies." *Church History* 33 (1964): 379-91; at p. 379).

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> the life after death, and those intended to prove the efficacy of intercession.[83]

I would submit that our artist has succeeded in combining all three of these aims in a single composition; this is a vision of an individual soul's fate shortly after death, it illustrates graphically the two possible modes of postmortem existence, and there can be no doubt that Peter's actions and the context of the *Liber Vitae* itself allude emphatically to the efficacy of intercessory prayer. I would suggest further that the artist culled the elements of his composition, as well as the overarching structure, primarily from homiletic and apocryphal texts such as those presented here (most of which were available in the vernacular), and it is with this in mind, I think, that the importance of redefining the drawing lies, for as A. diPaolo Healey has pointed out, such apocryphal material, translated and edited into homilies "exerted a perceptible influence on other areas of Anglo-Saxon culture: poets alluded to it, workers in stone carve scenes from it; and even Anglo-Saxon medicine men appropriate details from it for their charms and recipes."[84] To this list we may add the eleventh century anonymous illuminator of the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester.

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[83] Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, p. 69.

[84] Antonette di Paolo Healey, "Anglo-Saxon Use of the Apocryphal Gospel." In *The Anglo-Saxons: Synthesis and Achievement*, ed. J. Douglas Woods and David A. E. Pelteret. 93-104. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfreid Laurier University Press, 1985, at p. 94.

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Afterword:

Toward an Analytical Inventory of Demonological Motifs in Early Medieval Insular Literature

I have been concerned in this dissertation with some of the various ways in which Anglo-Saxon poets, homilists and artists made use of demonological lore. Each one of the foregoing chapters has isolated one or more demonological motifs and discussed them in relation to the artistic and cultural contexts of the text or document in which they are found. It may be supposed that the function and nature of the Devil and his subordinate demons in the early Christian and medieval worldview–especially the Augustinian one–is rather obvious and predictable. Yet I hope that these studies have demonstrated how Anglo-Saxon poets and artists used various demonological motifs with subtelty and care. In other words, close scrutiny and comparative study of this material reveals that it is not so that "a devil is a devil is a devil." In particular, knowledge of the Gregorian periods and the Tyconian canon have allowed us to clear up certain anomalies in several Old English works.

The vast amount of material in even the finite corpus of Old English literature dictates that a comprehensive treatment of its demonology would go far beyond the scope of a single dissertation. The same is of course even more true for any study that would seek to cast its net wider to cover the full range of Early Medieval Insular literature by including the Anglo-Latin, Hiberno-Latin and Old Irish materials. My next project will at least cover this field in tabular form. It was in fact my original intention to include in this dissertation an Appendix containing a kind of demonological

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motif index. This index had grown naturally from my collection of and research into motifs and passages in which the Devil and his subordinate demons make an appearance. While preparing the final version of this dissertation, I realized that constraints of time and space would prevent me from including anything like a comprehensive form of the index. I felt that a compromise version–restricted, say, to the Old English poetic corpus–would serve no real utility, other than merely to demonstrate how such such an index might be set up.

This seems, however, as appropriate a time as any to outline the goals of the project. It will ultimately facilitate the longer and more in-depth study of the literary career of the Devil which I describe in the Introduction: the unwritten "Life of Lucifer." The "Analytical Inventory of Demonological Motifs in Early Medieval Insular Literature," will attempt to classify, categorize, and bring together in one place all the literary motifs concerning the Devil and demons in a selected and well defined body of medieval texts. It is intended to be something more than a simple motif index, for it will include a full text citation of each instance of a given motif, and, where appropriate, commentary on the sources, influences and dissemination of the motif; hence I refer to it as an "analytical inventory."

I hope that when it is completed scholars interested in the literary history of medieval Insular demonology will find in it a useful reference tool that will prove helpful in their interpretation of demonology in the early Insular Middle Ages, and their investigations into Old English literature and Anglo-Saxon culture in general. By isolating the motifs and themes that deal with the Devil and his demons in the narrative poetry and prose of this period, and by organizing and classifying this literary

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material in a systematic fashion, I hope to lay the groundwork for a more informed assessment of the "career" of the Devil and his fellow fallen angels in the literature of this period.

Before one can make any kind of categorical statements about demonology in this considerable body of literature one must, I think, consider each motif on an individual basis. Moreover, only by first considering the sources or inspirations (where discernible) of this largely traditional lore will one be able to draw informed conclusions about how the Anglo-Saxons adapted it to their own needs, or about larger issues such as, for example, the mutual cultural and literary influence between the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish. It may very well be the case that the Devil and his demons prove to be reliable indicators of this "cultural exchange."

The kind of close scrutiny of this material made easier by its compilation in one place has also the potential for contributing something to the interpretation of the texts in which they appear, as the five chapters in this dissertation have demonstrated. Thus the "sources" to be collected are intended as "resources" to be used, where appropriate, in the elucidation of textual and contextual issues pertaining to the documents in question. The individual motifs in the Inventory, and the differences and similarities reflected in their respective categories, may also prove of interest in their own right as testimonies to the Anglo-Saxons' imagination in representing the reification and personification of evil in the form of demonic agency. Most of the lore reflected in these motifs is inherited material, material that had had a long history even before it entered the Judeo-Christian tradition. Still, to the extent that we can trace the sources of the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of this lore and how they adapted it, we

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stand to gain a greater understanding of the literary texts dealing with this subject.

Thus the Analytical Inventory is an on-going project, and one that will be modified and expanded as my work on this material extends beyond the dissertation. Just what form the final comprehensive version of the Inventory will take is difficult to predict. I foresee that the amount of space necessary to accommodate all the motifs in the considerable corpus of Old English, Anglo-Latin, Hiberno-Latin and Old Irish texts may be considerable indeed. For this reason it is not unlikely that a future, more comprehensive Inventory will appear in electronic form.

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